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**The Rhetoric of Celebration in Seventeenth-Century
Venetian Funerary Monuments**

Volume One of two volumes

(Text)

by

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
History of Art at the University of Warwick.**

This dissertation may not be photocopied.

University of Warwick, Department of the History of Art

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Table of Contents

Table of Contents	i
Acknowledgements	iv
Declaration	v
Abstract.....	vi
List of Abbreviations	vii
List of Illustrations	viii
Introduction.....	1
1. Funerary Monuments and the Myth of Venice.....	1
2. Defining a Monument	4
3. Funerary Monuments and Venetian Baroque	5
4. Funerary Monuments and Celebratory Rhetoric	10
5. The Structure of this Thesis	21
Chapter One The Premise: Ducal Tomb Monuments in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century.....	28
1. The Background: Funerary Monuments and Republican Ideology	31
2. The Funerary Monument to Doge Leonardo Loredan	43
3. The Legacy of the Loredan Monument: The Funerary Monument to Doge Marino Grimani	57
4. Continuity and Innovation after the Loredan Monument: The Funerary Monuments to the Doges Pasquale Cicogna and Marcantonio Memmo ...	67
Chapter Two Baldassarre Longhena's Monument to Doge Giovanni Pesaro and the Rhetoric of the Living Image.....	77
1. The Pesaro Monument, Its Design and Iconography.....	83
2. Emanuele Tesauro, the <i>Argutezza</i> , and its Influence on Longhena's Pesaro Monument	89
3. Longhena's Telamones.....	97
4. Speaking Marble, Moving Sculpture	102
5. Beyond Laudatory Poems: Panegyric Ekphrasis and the Reinvention of the Pesaro Monument	113

Chapter Three	The Critical Reception of Longhena's Pesaro Tomb: Monuments to Captains and War Heroes	121
1.	The Commemorative Monument to Caterino Cornaro: from Ethos to Rhetoric	124
2.	Cornaro's Sacrifice	131
3.	The Cornaro Monument and the Iconography of Slavery	135
4.	The Persistence of the Rhetoric of the Living Monument in Poems in Honour to Cornaro	140
5.	The Dynastic Monument of Antonio Barbaro on the Façade of Santa Maria del Giglio.....	147
6.	Antonio Barbaro's Self-Sacrifice as an Act of Religious Piety	156
Chapter Four	The Critical Reception of Longhena's Pesaro Monument: Funerary Monuments to Venetian Merchants and <i>cittadini</i>	166
1.	The Fini Family in San Moisè: the Façade as a Gift	171
2.	The Fini Monument and the Republican Ethos	179
3.	Liberty, Liberality and Magnificence	186
4.	<i>Concordia discors</i> : Baldassarre Longhena and the Ospedaletto Façade	190
5.	The Ospedaletto and the Pesaro Monument: Dichotomies or Correspondences?.....	195
6.	<i>Negligentia diligens</i>	198
7.	The Architecture of the Ospedaletto	204
8.	The Figures of Paradox	209
Chapter Five	Antonio Gaspari's Designs for Doge Francesco Morosini	215
1.	Antonio Gaspari's Designs for Santo Stefano	219
2.	The Reconstruction of San Vidal.....	235
3.	Sebastiano Serlio and the Theory of Rustication	237
4.	The Iconography of Antonio Gaspari's First Design for San Vidal	243
5.	Antonio Gaspari's Second and Third Designs for San Vidal	255
Chapter Six	The Mausoleum of the Valier Family	270

1. Antonio Gaspari's Designs for the Mausoleum of the Valier Family..	275
2. The Venetian Republican Ethos and Celebratory Rhetoric in Andrea Tirali's Mausoleum for the Valier Family	285
Conclusion.....	302
Appendix One	313
Two Redactions of Emanuele Tesauro's Funerary Eulogy in Memory of Doge Giovanni Pesaro.....	313
Appendix Two	317
Giovanni Prati's Panegyric Ekphrasis of the Pesaro Monument	317
Appendix Three.....	323
Lorenzo Fondra's Lyric Poem in Honour of Caterino Cornaro.....	323
Bibliography	331

Volume 2:

Illustrations

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work and that it has not been submitted for a degree at another university. A shorter version of Section 2 in Chapter One has been published in the conference proceedings of the ‘Architecture of Death’ symposium (London, Bloomsbury Baptist Church, 11 March 2016) as Stefano Colombo, ‘The Commemorative Monument to Doge Leonardo Loredan in Santi Giovanni e Paolo: Rethinking the Funerary Memory in Early Seventeenth-Century Venice’, *Mausolus*, Summer Bulletin (2016), pp. 23-29 (offprint attached at the end of the thesis).

Abstract

This thesis investigates seventeenth-century Venetian funerary monuments as representing the Republic's celebrative imagery. Going beyond the traditional interpretation of these monuments as a display of funerary memory, a series of case studies provided in six chapters examines them as rhetorical devices which celebrated Venice and instilled subtle forms of its republican propaganda. Chapter One focuses on early seventeenth-century ducal monuments and the republican ethos, scrutinising their function as ideological instruments which asserted the grandeur of Venice through their celebration of the doges. Chapter Two analyses the architectural and visual sources of the monument to Doge Giovanni Pesaro, a crucial model for later funerary monuments, focusing on the interaction between sculpture, architecture and the viewer. The comparative reading of contemporary panegyric poems of the Pesaro monument demonstrates how it was perceived as a living presence which was capable of eliciting the involvement of the viewer and gaining his or her persuasion. Monuments to the Venetian captains Caterino Cornaro and Antonio Barbaro are investigated in Chapter Three as significant examples which embody the notion of sacrifice as an act of both civic and religious piety. This forms the basis of the fabrication of the Venetian identity of the newly ennobled families and merchants through the memorials on the façades of San Moisè and Santa Maria dei Derelitti which are analysed in Chapter Four. Chapters Five and Six explore Antonio Gaspari's project proposals for Doge Francesco Morosini and the Valier family, which remained unexecuted. Inspired by Roman Baroque architecture, Gaspari enhanced the aggrandisement of the ducal families to a quasi-imperialist state. Nevertheless, the actual Valier monument devised by Andrea Tirali remained an indirect celebration of Venice through the celebration of the doge's achievements. The six chapters thus demonstrate how funerary monuments create a public imagery which complements the so-called "myth of Venice".

List of Abbreviations

ASV= Archivio di Stato, Venice

BCV= Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice

BMV= Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice

Bollettino CISA= Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura
Andrea Palladio

BSM= Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich

DBI= Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani

RG= Raccolta Gaspari

b.= busta

c.= circa

fol.= folio

Fig.= figure

MS= manuscript

No.= number

r= recto

v= verso

Single inverted commas are for quotations.

Double inverted commas are for emphasis or for quotes or elements of speech
within the quote.

Unless otherwise indicated, the location of the artworks is Venice.

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

List of Illustrations

Figure 1. Danese Cataneo, *Funerary Monument to Giano Fregoso*, c. 1562-65, marble, Santa Anastasia, Verona.

Figure 2. Danese Cataneo, Giovanni Grapiglia, *Funerary Monument to Doge Leonardo Loredan*, c. 1566-1616, marble, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.

Figure 3. Detail of Figure 2, *Doge Leonardo Loredan alongside the Personifications of Venice and the League of Cambrai*, marble. Author's photograph.

Figure 4. Detail of Figure 2, Danese Cataneo, *Abundance*. Author's photograph.

Figure 5. Detail of Figure 2, Danese Cataneo, *Peace*. Author's photograph.

Figure 6a. Detail of Figure 2, Danese Cataneo, *Paduan Rivers (Brenta and Bacchiglione), a Saint and Allegorical Personification*, c. 1566-70, bronze.

Figure 6b. Detail of Figure 2, Danese Cataneo, *Padua as Muse*, c. 1566-70, bronze.

Figure 7a. Detail of Figure 2, Danese Cataneo, *Venice as a Queen and a River*, c. 1566-70, bronze.

Figure 7b. Detail of Figure 2, Danese Cataneo, *Venice Triumphant over the Imperials*, c. 1566-70, bronze.

Figure 8. Detail of Figure 2, Late Mannerist Venetian sculptor, *Venice Receiving Homage from the Cities of the Venetian Dominion*, end of the 16th-beginning of the 17th century, marble.

Figure 9. Tullio and Sante Lombardo, *Funerary Monument to Doge Giovanni Mocenigo*, completed in 1522, marble, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.

Figure 10. Giovanni Grapiglia and Francesco Contin, *Funerary Monument to Doge Alvise I Mocenigo and the Dogaresa Loredana Marcello*, c. 1581-1651, Istrian stone, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.

Figure 11. Jacopo Sansovino, Danese Cataneo, Tiziano Minio, Girolamo Lombardo, *Loggetta*, 1537-49, Piazza San Marco, Venice.

Figure 12. Bartolomeo Ammanati, *Funerary Monument to Marco Mantova-Benavides*, 1546, Chiesa degli Eremitani, Padua.

Figure 13. Jacopo Sansovino and workshop, *Funerary Monument to Doge Francesco Venier*, 1555-61, polychrome marble, San Salvador, Venice.

Figure 14. Baccio Bandinelli, *Funerary Monument to Clement VII*, 1536-42, Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, Rome.

Figure 15. Guglielmo della Porta, *Sepulchral Monument to Paul III*, 1551-75, Saint Peter, Vatican.

Figure 16. Giovan Battista della Porta, *Funerary Monument to Vespasiano Gonzaga*, 1592, Beata Vergine Incoronata, Sabbioneta (Mantua).

Figure 17. Pietro and Antonio Lombardo, *Cenotaph of Doge Pietro Mocenigo*, 1476-80, marble, Istrian stone, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.

Figure 18. Detail of Figure 17, *Sarcophagus of Doge Pietro Mocenigo*.

Figure 19. Antonio Rizzo, *Funerary Monument to Doge Nicolò Tron*, c. 1476, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice.

Figure 20. Pietro Lombardo and workshop, *Funerary Monument to Doge Pasquale Malipiero*, c. 1463, Istrian stone, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.

Figure 21. Pietro Lombardo, *Funerary Monument to Doge Nicolò Marcello*, 1490s, marble and Istrian stone, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.

Figure 22. Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Voluntary Submission of Cities and Regions*, 1584, canvas, Doge's Palace, Sala del Maggior Consiglio, Venice, detail.

Figure 23. Francesco Smeraldi and Girolamo Campagna, *Funerary Monument to Doge Marino Grimani and the Dogressa Morosina Morosini*, 1599-1604, San Giuseppe di Castello, Venice.

Figure 24. Detail of Figure 23, Cesare Gropo, *Coronation of Doge Marino Grimani*, bronze.

Figure 25. Detail of Figure 23, Cesare Gropo, *Morosina Morosini Swearing the Oath of Allegiance*, bronze.

Figure 26. Detail of Figure 23, *Doge Marino Grimani and the Dogressa Morosina Morosini Kneeling Before the Virgin and Child*.

Figure 27. Jacopo Palma Giovane, *Commemorative Painting of Doges Gerolamo and Lorenzo Priuli*, 1583-87, canvas, Doge's Palace, Sala del Senato, Venice, 380 x 910 cm.

Figure 28. Jacopo Palma Giovane, *Commemorative Painting of Doge Marcantonio Memmo*, 1615, canvas, Doge's Palace, Liagò, Venice, 330 x 820 cm.

Figure 29. Jacopo Palma Giovane, *Commemorative Painting of Doge Pasquale Cicogna*, c. 1595, canvas, Doge's Palace, Sala del Senato, Venice, 380 x 410 cm.

Figure 30. *Osella of Doge Sebastiano Venier*, 1577, Banca Popolare di Vicenza, Vicenza.

Figure 31. Benedetto Bordon, *Promissione Ducale of Doge Antonio Grimani*, London, British Museum, MS Add. 18000, f. 6b.

Figure 32. Girolamo Campagna (attributed to), *Funerary Monument to Doge Pasquale Cicogna*, c. 1603-before 1663, Istrian stone, Santa Maria Assunta, Venice.

Figure 33. Andrea Palladio (attributed to), *Funerary Monument to Doge Andrea Gritti*, c. 1569-75, San Francesco della Vigna, Venice.

Figure 34. Giulio Dal Moro (attributed to), *Funerary Monument to Doge Marcantonio Memmo*, 1618, Istrian stone and marble, San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice.

Figure 35. Baldassarre Longhena, *Funerary Monument to Doge Giovanni Pesaro*, 1665-69, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice.

Figure 36a-b. Detail of Figure 35, Giusto Le Court and Francesco Cavrioli, *Telamones and Bronze Skeletons*.

Figure 37. Detail of Figure 35, Giusto Le Court, *Telamones and Keystone Putto*.

Figure 38. Detail of Figure 35, Giusto Le Court, *Moor*.

Figure 39. Detail of Figure 35, Giusto Le Court and Melchior Barthel, *Doge Giovanni Pesaro alongside Allegorical Personifications*.

Figure 40. Detail of Figure 35, Giusto Le Court, *Effigy of Doge Giovanni Pesaro*.

Figure 41. *Funerary Monument to Doge Giovanni Pesaro*, view from the central nave.

Figure 42. Detail of Figure 35, neo-Gothic crowning.

Figure 43. Giovanni Antonio Rusconi, *Funerary Monument to the Doges Gerolamo and Lorenzo Priuli*, c. 1577-1601, San Salvador, Venice.

Figure 44. Baldassarre Longhena, *Morosini Family Altar*, 1643-47, San Pietro di Castello, Venice.

Figure 45. *Arco Foscari*, view from the courtyard of the Doge's Palace, Venice.

Figure 46. Jacopo Bellini, *Christ before Pilate*, Louvre, Paris, Inv. R.F. 1503.

Figure 47. Mattia Carneri, *Funerary Monument to Doge Francesco Erizzo*, 1634-43, marble, San Martino, Venice.

Figure 48. Detail of Figure 47, Mattia Carneri, *Putto Bearing a Scroll*.

Figure 49. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Funerary Monument to Pope Urban VIII*, 1627-47, Saint Peter's, Vatican.

Figure 50. Antonio Bosio (after Longhena), *Catafalque for the Funerary Rites of Françoise De Vendôme in Saint Mark's*, 1669, engraving, BCV, St. Correr 2991.

Figure 51. Baldassarre Longhena, *High Altar*, 1661-72, San Nicolò da Tolentino, Venice.

Figure 52. Baldassarre Longhena and Giusto Le Court, *Funerary Monument to Giorgio Morosini*, 1677, San Clemente in Isola, Venice. Author's photograph.

Figure 53. Baldassarre Longhena and Giusto Le Court, *Funerary Monument to Lorenzo and Pietro Morosini*, 1677, San Clemente in Isola, Venice. Author's photograph.

Figure 54. *Persian Portico*, (from Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, Venice 1567, p. 17).

Figure 55. Reconstruction of the temple of Jupiter in Agrigento with the figures of atlantes, 480 BC (from Schmidt-Colinet 1977).

Figure 56. *Kneeling Persian*, 1st/2nd century AD, Pavonazzo and *nero antico* marble, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, h155 cm.

Figure 57. *Funerary Stela*, 2nd century AD, limestone, Bardo National Museum, Tunis, h175 cm.

Figure 58. *Tomb of King Roger II of Sicily*, c. 1154, cathedral of Santa Vergine Maria Assunta, Palermo.

Figure 59. Pietro Lombardo, *Funerary Monument to Captain Jacopo Marcello*, c. 1484-90, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice.

Figure 60. Giusto Le Court, *Ingenuity*.

Figure 61. Paolo Veronese, *Three Archers*, 1558, San Sebastiano, Venice.

Figure 62. Marco Beltrame, *Funerary Monument to Cristoforo Ivanovich*, 1688, San Moisè, Venice.

Figure 63. *Cenotaph of Victor Amadeus I*, (from Luigi Giuglaris, *Funerale fatto nel duomo di Torino alla gloriosa memoria dell'invittissimo, e potentissimo principe Vittorio Amedeo*, 1638).

Figure 64. *Funerary Monument to the Marquis Francesco Ghiron Villa*, 1670s, San Francesco, Ferrara. Author's photograph.

Figure 65. Baldassarre Longhena and Giusto Le Court, *Commemorative Monument to Caterino Cornaro*, 1672-74, marble, basilica of Sant'Antonio, Padua.

Figure 66. Detail of Figure 65, Giusto Le Court, *Telamon*.

Figure 67. Baldassarre Longhena, *Funerary Monument to Bartolomeo Orsini d'Alviano*, 1629-33, Santo Stefano, Venice.

Figure 68. Giuseppe Sardi and Giusto Le Court, *Monument to Alvise Mocenigo*, 1658-65, San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti, Venice.

Figure 69. Baldassarre Longhena, *Funerary Monument to Orazio Farnese*, 1666, Santa Maria Assunta, Venice.

Figure 70. Baldassarre Longhena, *Funerary Monument to Almerico d'Este*, 1666, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice.

Figure 71. Pietro Tacca, *Monument of the Four Moors*, 1617-24, Piazza Micheli, Livorno.

Figure 72. Ludovico Cardi, *Design for the Pedestal of the Monument to Henry IV on the Pont Neuf*, c. 1608, Uffizi Gallery, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Florence.

Figure 73. Volterrano, *The Monarchy of Tuscany Leading Pisa and Livorno to Pay Tribute to Ferdinand I*, 1636-46, Villa Petraia, Florence.

Figure 74. Jacopo Palma Giovane, *Venice Crowned by Victory*, 1584, canvas, Doge's Palace, Sala del Maggior Consiglio, Venice.

Figure 75. Giuseppe Sardi, *Façade of Santa Maria del Giglio*, 1679-81, marble and Istrian stone, Venice.

Figure 76. Detail of Figure 75, Giusto Le Court, *Antonio Barbaro*.

Figure 77a-c. Detail of Figure 75, Heinrich Meyring (attributed to), *Telamones and Coat of Arms of the Barbaro Family*.

Figure 78. Detail of Figure 75, Heinrich Meyring (attributed to), *Wisdom*.

Figure 79. Detail of Figure 75, Heinrich Meyring (attributed to), *Fame*.

Figure 80. Detail of Figure 75, Heinrich Meyring (attributed to), *Glory*.

Figure 81. Giuseppe Sardi, *Santa Maria di Nazareth*, 1672-80, façade, Venice.

Figure 82. Baldassarre Longhena, *Santa Giustina*, 1636-40, Istrian stone, façade, Venice. Author's photograph.

Figure 83. *Santa Maria Formosa*, 1663, Istrian stone, view of the northern façade with monuments to the Cappello family, Venice.

Figure 84. Alessandro Tremignon, *San Moisè*, 1681-84, Istrian stone, façade, Venice.

Figure 85. Detail of Figure 84 showing the portrait bust of Girolamo Fini and allegorical personifications. Author's photograph.

Figure 86. Detail of Figure 84 showing the portrait bust of Vincenzo Fini and allegorical personifications. Author's photograph.

Figure 87. Detail of Figure 84, Heinrich Meyring and Michele Fabris (ascribed to), *Monument to Vincenzo Fini*. Author's photograph.

Figure 88. Jacopo Picini, *Monument to René de Voyer de Paulmy d'Argenson in San Giobbe*, c. 1655.

Figure 89. Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, *Triumphal Arch of the Archbishop of Salzburg*, 1628 Salzburger Stadtarchiv, Stadtakten 179.

Figure 90. Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, *Triumphal Arch of the Archbishop of Salzburg*, 1682, Salzburger Landesarchiv.

Figure 91. Paolo Veronese, *Juno Showering Gifts on Venice*, 1553, Doge's Palace, Sala delle Udienze, Venice.

Figure 92. Paolo Veronese, *Venice Bestowing Goods and Honours*, 1575-77, Doge's Palace, Sala dell'Anticollegio, Venice.

Figure 93. Baldassarre Longhena, *Santa Maria dei Derelitti*, 1670-74, Istrian stone,

façade, Venice.

Figure 94a-d. Detail of Figure 93, *Hermes*. Author's photograph.

Figure 95. Detail of Figure 93, *Epitaph and Bust of Bartolomeo Cagnoni*. Author's photograph.

Figure 96a-d. Detail of Figure 93, *Telamones*. Author's photograph.

Figure 97. Giuseppe Sardi and Bernardo Falconi, *Epitaph and Bust of Bartolomeo Cagnoni*, 1664, Santa Maria dei Derelitti, Venice.

Figure 98. Luca Carlevarijs, *Santa Maria dei Derelitti o dell'Ospedaletto*, engraving, 1703.

Figure 99. Antonio and Giuseppe Sardi, *San Salvador*, 1660-65, Istrian stone, façade, Venice.

Figure 100. *Second terme ionique masculin* (from Hugues Sambin, *Oeuvre de la diversite des termes*, Lyon 1572, p. 34).

Figure 101. *Das dritte Buch von der Ionica* (from Wiendel Dietterlin, *Architectura von Ausstheilung, Symmetria und Proportion der Fünff Seulen*, Nuremberg 1655, p. 113r).

Figure 102. *Palazzo Verità Montanari*, 1583, Verona, external view of the portal on the courtyard.

Figure 103. Giovanni Antonio Piotti, *Tempio di Santa Croce*, 1580-94, Riva San Vitale (Lugano), detail of the Doric frieze. Author's photograph.

Figure 104. Galeazzo Alessi and Martino Bassi, *San Celso*, 1572-92, Milan, detail of the leonine herms. Author's photograph.

Figure 105. Pellegrino Tibaldi (ascribed to), *Hermes*, c. 1578, San Raffaele, Milan.

Author's photograph.

Figure 106. Francesco Maria Ricchino, *Project Proposal of the Façade of the Cathedral of Milan*, c. 1603, Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Raccolta Bianconi, II, f. 28a.

Figure 107. *Thuscana*, (from Gabriel Krammer, *Architectura*, Prague 1600).

Figure 108. Antonio Gaspari, *First Project Proposal of the Funerary Monument to Doge Francesco Morosini in Santo Stefano*, here dated to 1687-88, pen, ink and graphite on paper, BCV, RG I, 40a, 491 x 680 mm. Author's photograph.

Figure 109. Antonio Gaspari, *First Project Proposal of the Funerary Monument to Doge Francesco Morosini in Santo Stefano*, here dated to 1687-88, pen, ink and graphite on paper, BCV, RG I, 40b, 491 x 680 mm. Author's photograph.

Figure 110. Antonio Gaspari, *Second Project Proposal of the Funerary Monument to Doge Francesco Morosini in Santo Stefano*, here dated to c. 1694, pen, ink and watercolour on paper, BCV, RG I, 52, 482 x 350 mm. Author's photograph.

Figure 111. Detail of Figure 110, *Portrait Bust of Francesco Morosini and the Personifications of History, War, Love for One's Country and Safety*. Author's photograph.

Figure 112. Antonio Gaspari, *Second Project Proposal of the Funerary Monument to Doge Francesco Morosini in Santo Stefano*, here dated to c. 1694, pen, ink and watercolour on paper, BCV, RG I, 44, 484 x 350 mm. Author's photograph.

Figure 113. Antonio Gaspari, *Third Project Proposal of the Funerary Monument to Doge Francesco Morosini in Santo Stefano*, here dated to 1694, pen and ink on paper, BCV, RG I, 27, 630 x 1089 mm, detail.

Figure 114. Andrea Tirali and Gregorio Lazzarini, *Arch of Honour of Doge Francesco Morosini*, 1694, Doge's Palace, Sala dello Scrutinio, Venice.

Figure 115. Filippo Parodi, *Portrait Bust of Doge Francesco Morosini*, 1687, Doge's Palace, Sala del Consiglio dei Dieci, Venice.

Figure 116. Antonio Gaspari and Filippo Parodi, *Tomb Plate of Doge Francesco Morosini*, 1694, Santo Stefano, Venice. Author's photograph.

Figure 117. Raphael, *Chigi Chapel*, detail of the monument to Agostino Chigi, marble, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome.

Figure 118. *Funerary Monument to Agostino Favoriti*, 1684, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.

Figure 119. Paolo Piazza, *Martyrdom of Marcantonio Bragadin*, 1593-96, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.

Figure 120. Giovanni Bonazza, *Funerary Monument to the Senator Girolamo Garzoni*, after 1688-89, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice.

Figure 121. Andrea Tirali and Giuseppe Gnioncola, *San Vidal*, completed c. 1734-35, Istrian stone, façade, Venice. Author's photograph.

Figure 122. Antonio Gaspari, *First Project Proposal of San Vidal*, here dated to 1685, ink on paper, BCV, RG I, 41, 343 x 412 mm. Author's photograph.

Figure 123. Detail of Figure 122, *Main Portal*.

Figure 124. Detail of Figure 122, *Turkish Banner*.

Figure 125. Detail of Figure 122, *Christian Faith*.

Figure 126. Antonio Gaspari, *Preparatory Sketch of the First Project Proposal of San Vidal*, here dated to 1685, brush, ink and graphite on paper, BCV, RG I, 45, 358 x 420 mm. Author's photograph.

Figure 127. Antonio Gaspari, *Second Project Proposal of San Vidal*, here dated to 1688, pen and graphite on paper, BCV, RG I, 46, 474 x 370 mm. Author's photograph.

Figure 128. Detail of Figure 127.

Figure 129. Antonio Gaspari, *Third Project Proposal of San Vidal*, here dated to 1688, pen, ink and graphite on paper BCV, RG I, 39a, 375 x 282 mm. Author's photograph.

Figure 130. Detail of Figure 129.

Figure 131. Antonio Gaspari, *Preparatory Sketch of the Third Project Proposal of San Vidal*, here dated to 1688, pen, ink and graphite on paper, BCV, RG I, 48, 368 x 490 mm. Author's photograph.

Figure 132. Antonio Gaspari, *Proposed Plan of San Vidal*, here dated to 1688, pen, ink and graphite on paper, BCV, RG II, 20b.

Figure 133. Antonio Gaspari, *Proposed Plan of San Vidal*, here dated to 1688, pen, ink and graphite on paper, BCV, RG III, 91.

Figure 134. *Santa Maria Formosa*, detail of the bell tower, view from the west. Author's photograph.

Figure 135. *Santa Maria della Scala*, second half of the 15th century, Messina.

Figure 136. Sebastiano Serlio, *Regole generali di architettura sopra le cinque maniere de gli edifici*, p. 58r.

Figure 137. Sebastiano Serlio, *Prospect of a Villa* (from BSM, MS Icon. 189, fol. 33r).

Figure 138. Donato Buoni di Pellezuoli, *Kaizerpoort*, 1550, woodcut, (from Cornelius Scribonius Graphaeus, *Le triumphe d'Anvers, faict en la susception du Prince Philips, Prince*

D'Espaigne, Anvers 1550, p. 14v).

Figure 139. *Forte Sant'Andrea*, detail of the water entrance.

Figure 140. Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, *Arch of the Fremden Niederleger in Vienna*, 1690, woodcut, Wiener Stadtarchiv.

Figure 141. *Villa Aldobrandini*, 1598, Frascati (Rome), detail of the garden.

Figure 142. Bernardino Biglioranzzi, *Porta dei Bombardieri*, 1687, Verona.

Figure 143. Baldassarre Longhena, *Palazzo Bon*, Venice, detail of the entrance on the *rio*.

Figure 144. Antonio Gaspari, *Project Proposal of the Library of Palazzo Zane*, BCV, RG I, 92, detail.

Figure 145. Baldassarre Longhena, *Ca' Pesaro*, Venice.

Figure 146. Sebastiano Serlio, *Tempio*, (from *Quinto libro d'architettura*, p. 20v).

Figure 147. Vincenzo Coronelli, *Courtyard of Palazzo Morosini dal Giardin*, c. 1709, engraving.

Figure 148. Luca Carlevarijs, *View of the Gateway of the Arsenal*, 1703, engraving.

Figure 149. Baldassarre Longhena, *Project Proposal of the Valmarana Loggia*, 1649, Museo Civico, Vicenza, D. 36, c. 300 x 435 mm.

Figure 150. Antonio Gaspari, *Project Proposal of Villa Da Lezze in Rovare*, BCV, RG I, 93.

Figure 151. Paolo Veronese, *Preparatory Sketch of the Votive Painting of Doge Sebastiano*

Venier, 1571-81, British Museum, London.

Figure 152. Titian, *Doge Antonio Grimani Kneeling Before the Faith*, 1555, canvas, Doge's Palace, Sala Delle Quattro Porte, Venice.

Figure 153. Gregorio Lazzarini, *Doge Francesco Morosini Offers the Reconquered Morea to Venice*, 1694, oil on canvas, Doge's Palace, Sala dello Scrutinio, Venice.

Figure 154. Gregorio Lazzarini, *Merit offers the Command to Doge Francesco Morosini*, 1694, oil on canvas, Doge's Palace, Sala dello Scrutinio, Venice.

Figure 155. Andrea Tirali, *Mausoleum of the Valier Family*, 1704-7, marble, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.

Figure 156. Detail of Figure 155, Antonio Tarsia and Giovanni Bonazza, *Peace, Love for the Homeland, Zeal*.

Figure 157. Detail of Figure 155, Antonio Tarsia and Pietro Baratta, *Constancy, Charity, Humility*.

Figure 158. Detail of Figure 155, Marino Groppelli, *Allegory of the Battle of the Dardanelles*.

Figure 159. Detail of Figure 155, Giovanni Bonazza, *Virtue Crowning Merit*.

Figure 160. Detail of Figure 155, Pietro Baratta, *Wisdom*.

Figure 161. Detail of Figure 155, Antonio Tarsia, *Abundance*.

Figure 162. Detail of Figure 155, Pietro Baratta, *Doge Silvestro Valier*.

Figure 163. Detail of Figure 155, Antonio Tarsia, *Doge Bertuccio Valier*.

Figure 164. Detail of Figure 155, Giovanni Bonazza, *Elisabetta Querini*.

Figure 165. *Santi Giovanni e Paolo*, view of the right nave.

Figure 166. Antonio Gaspari, *First Project Proposal of the Mausoleum of the Valier Family*, 1690s, BCV, RG 1, 49, 409 x 690 mm. Author's photograph.

Figure 167. Detail of Figure 166, Antonio Gaspari, *Doge Bertuccio Valier, Elisabetta Querini, Silvestro Valier and Allegorical Personifications*.

Figure 168. Detail of Figure 166, Antonio Gaspari, *Entrance to the Chapel of the Madonna della Pace*.

Figure 169. Detail of Figure 166, Antonio Gaspari, *Mercy and Truth*.

Figure 170. Detail of Figure 166, Antonio Gaspari, *Charity*.

Figure 171. Detail of Figure 166, Antonio Gaspari, *Peace and Justice*.

Figure 172. Detail of Figure 166, Antonio Gaspari, *Fictive Perspective*.

Figure 173. Antonio Gaspari, *Second Project Proposal of the Mausoleum of the Valier Family*, 1690s, BCV, RG 1, 42, 351 x 557 mm. Author's photograph.

Figure 174. Detail of Figure 173, Antonio Gaspari, *The Doges Silvestro and Bertuccio Valier, the Dogressa Elisabetta Querini and Allegorical Personifications*.

Figure 175. Detail of Figure 173, Antonio Gaspari, *Allegorical Personification*.

Figure 176. Detail of Figure 173, Antonio Gaspari, *Victory*.

Figure 177. Detail of Figure 173, Antonio Gaspari, *Fame*.

Figure 178. Detail of Figure 173, Antonio Gaspari, *Coat of Arms of the Valier Family Held by Two Putti*.

Figure 179. Antonio Gaspari, *Project Proposal of the Chapel of San Domenico*, c. 1690, BCV, RG, I, 15, detail.

Figure 180. Antonio Gaspari, *Project Proposal of the Chapel of the Santissimo Nome di Dio*, c. 1690, BCV, RG, I, 13, detail.

Figure 181. Giulio Romano, *Sepulchral Monument to Baldassar Castiglione*, c. 1534, Santa Maria delle Grazie, Curtatone (Mantua).

Figure 182a-b. *Palazzo Albrizzi*, Venice, view of the *portego*.

Figure 183. Andrea Tremignon and Heinrich Meyring, *High Altar*, c. 1685-88, San Moisè, Venice.

Figure 184. Andrea Tirali, *Chapel of San Domenico*, 1700, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, view from the nave.

Introduction

1. Funerary Monuments and the Myth of Venice

In seventeenth-century Venice a large number of patricians financed the execution of grandiose funerary monuments to commemorate their services to and status within the Venetian Republic. The colossal dimension of these monuments gained the admiration of contemporary observers: erected in Venetian churches or even inserted as part of a church façade, these monuments were praised for their iconography and craftsmanship, soon becoming part of Venice's historical imagery. This thesis investigates the execution and reception of seventeenth-century Venetian funerary monuments in honour of doges, commanders and patricians as insights into the Venetian celebrative imagery. What is the relationship between celebratory rhetoric and these monuments? Relying on an interdisciplinary approach, this research attempts to offer a novel and more accurate understanding of the interactions between art, history and early modern rhetoric, thereby demonstrating the way in which funerary monuments became a vehicle for political ideas concerning the Venetian state and society and the achievements of its elite members.

To analyse funerary monuments in relation to the Venetian celebrative imagery means to delve into the set of symbols, images and legends that scholars have traditionally referred to as the “myth of Venice”.¹ How do the monuments relate to

¹ For the vast literature on the so-called “myth of Venice”, see Franco Gaeta, ‘Alcune considerazioni sul mito di Venezia’, *Bibliothèque d’humanisme et Renaissance. Travaux et documents* 26 (1961), pp. 58-75; Id., ‘L’idea di Venezia’, in *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 3, *Dal primo quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*, eds

the myth of Venice, and in what way did the myth fashion the celebrative imagery to which the monuments are testimonies? Generally speaking, the myth of Venice is a fabrication, a collection of foundational accounts which were forged by the local historiography, incorporating legendary notions and historically unverifiable events which are nonetheless essential in order to comprehend the Venetian culture in its historical evolution. Yet, although fictive, the myth is no less real than the empirical facts.² As stated by Edward Muir, scholars need to read myths as ‘guides to the inherited symbols and mentalities of a particular culture in order to find out how the members of that culture perceived the world’.³ The myth of Venice influenced multiple aspects of that culture, including the figurative arts, literature and the politics. In a word, it fashioned the definition of Venetian imagery. The myth of Venice thus denotes a set of elements that tells us about attitudes and mental behaviours within Venetian culture.

Images, like myths, are also fictitious. They provide a representation of reality which has been shaped by myth. Such representation is as significant as the actual facts it alludes to. As is the case with myths, dealing with Venetian imagery means separating out the historic truths from the legends and to ‘trace the history of myths

Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1981), pp. 565-641; Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 13-61; Donald Edward Queller, *The Venetian Patriarchate: Reality Versus Myth* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1986); Filippo De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: University Press, 2007); Iain Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007); *Celebrazione e autocritica. La Serenissima e la ricerca dell'identità veneziana nel tardo Cinquecento*, ed. Benjamin Paul (Rome: Viella, 2014). In addition, see the extensive bibliography which is cited in Giorgio Tagliaferro, ‘Le forme della Vergine: la personificazione di Venezia nel processo creativo di Paolo Veronese’, *Venezia Cinquecento* 15/30 (2005), note 2 pp. 131-33.

² Muir (1981), p. 56.

³ Ibid., p. 56.

as a manifestation of human ingenuity and as a way of gleaning collective mentalities'.⁴ Since funerary monuments evoke a mythicized image of Venice as a republic of grandees, one may argue that the significance of monuments is also fictive or legendary. Nonetheless, the monuments are part of the Venetian imagery and figuratively represent Venetian self-celebration in the seventeenth century. To understand these monuments, therefore, is to comprehend the Venetian society and its culture, its forms of representation, and indeed to assess the capacity of the myth to visualise the image the Venetians had of themselves.

As a product of human artistry and ingenuity, funerary monuments are conspicuous in their design and iconography. These monuments relate to the Venetian myth because they form part of the traditional imagery which had illustrated the myth in visual forms since the Renaissance and even earlier.⁵ The funerary monuments are a key part of a visual history of Venice which is articulated through the celebration of its main protagonists as visual representations. To acknowledge the double nature of funerary monuments as a form of visual art and as a depiction of the Venetian myth requires analysis of them on two interrelated grounds. One involves visual analysis of the images as documents suitable for an exploration of Venetian Baroque sculpture and architecture; the other implies a scrutiny of the rhetorical significance conveyed by the images. The combination of these two lines of research requires the adoption of a multidisciplinary approach where history of art, together with its cognate subjects, history of sculpture and

⁴ Ibid., p. 56.

⁵ On the myth of Venice and the visual arts, see *ibid.*, p. 21.

architecture, must be utilised alongside the analysis of visual rhetoric, literature and the history of ideas. On the one hand, this thesis will investigate the monuments in relation to their iconography and cultural context. On the other, the study of these monuments will provide an opportunity to explore the set of elements that constituted the visual and thematic universe of the myth of Venice in the seventeenth century.

2. Defining a Monument

The first step towards comprehending these monuments requires a terminological clarification. In general parlance, the term “monument” evokes a structure which has been erected to commemorate or to perpetuate the memory of a person or an event. Although this definition is not unsubstantiated, it is rather generic and outlines only one aspect of the multifaceted significance of funerary monuments. As a matter of fact, funerary monuments can fulfil different tasks. The most common functions are the celebration and the commemoration of the deceased. It is worth noting that the notions of “commemoration” and “celebration” are often mistaken for synonyms. With reference to funerary monuments, “commemoration” denotes the action of calling to remembrance, a solemnization of the memory of the deceased.⁶ “Celebration”, instead, fulfils a ritualistic and encomiastic purpose. It evokes the performance of a ceremony that honours and acknowledges a person or an event.⁷ In addition, it suggests the act of making famous (a person or an event), or to make it publicly known through rhetorical magnification.

⁶ Entry *Commemoration*, in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 545.

⁷ Entry *Celebration*, in *ibid.*, p. 1018.

A monument which is specifically designed for the task of magnifying the figure of the deceased is the so-called “commemorative façade”, a typology to which I shall return later on.⁸ In order to simplify the classification of monuments, it will be helpful to divide them according to their function and artistic genre. Depending on the genre, monuments can be classified as sepulchral, funerary, mausolea, cenotaphs etc. According to their function, monuments can commemorate a person, celebrate historical events, magnify a grandee, etc. Some monuments have a merely commemorative nature. Others were conceived of as a vehicle for patriotic statements, or as a device to persuade the viewer with a propagandistic message concerning the Venetian state and its ruling class. Most of them do not house the deceased. The function of tombs is less rhetorical and more practical because tombs are just the burial place where corpses are interred. In seventeenth-century Venice, tombs were generally modest because their patrons were interested in erecting expensive and splendid monuments. To avoid confusion, I will use the term “funerary monument” to refer to monuments in general terms. When it is necessary to underline the specific artistic genre of the monuments, I will use the nomenclature “sepulchral” or “commemorative” monument, mausoleum etc.

3. Funerary Monuments and Venetian Baroque

The study of seventeenth-century funerary monuments cannot be separated from a survey of Baroque sculpture and architecture. In spite of the plethora of scholarly publications on seventeenth-century Venetian sculpture and architecture, funerary

⁸ See below Section 4 in this chapter.

monuments represent a relatively poorly explored field of research. Excluding primary sources, the earliest mentions of funerary monuments are in eighteenth-century editions of guidebooks for foreign travellers, in their descriptions of churches and other notable Venetian buildings, or in the surveys of Venetian sculpture and architecture written by the nineteenth-century scholars Leopoldo Cicognara and Pietro Selvatico.⁹ These works were the first attempts at a systematic description of Venetian sculpture and architecture, including funerary monuments. They are still valuable today as primary sources which document the perception of these monuments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although the authors' approach is essentially antiquarian and influenced by Neoclassical and nineteenth-century aesthetics. In the twentieth century, Baroque funerary monuments represent a quite specific field of expertise within the studies of Venetian sculpture and architecture. Pioneering works by Elena Bassi and Camillo Semenzato were the first investigations of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Venetian sculpture and architecture based on archival sources and visual analysis.¹⁰ Bassi and Semenzato influenced all successive studies on Venetian sculpture and architecture and are still the starting point for any research which is carried out on funerary

⁹ Domenico Martinelli, *Il ritratto ovvero le cose più notabili di Venezia* (Venezia: Lorenzo Baseggio, 1705); Giovanni Battista Albrizzi, *Forestiero illuminato intorno le cose più rare e curiose, antiche e moderne della città di Venezia e delle isole circonvicine* (Venice: Francesco Tosi, 1796, first published 1740); Giannantonio Moschini, *Guida per la città di Venezia all'amico delle belle arti*, 2 vols (Venezia: Alvisopoli, 1815); Giambattista Soravia, *Le chiese di Venezia descritte e illustrate da Giambattista Soravia*, (Venice: Francesco Andreola, 1822); Leopoldo Cicognara, *Le fabbriche e i monumenti cospicui di Venezia*, 2 vols (Venezia: Antonelli, 1838-40); Pietro Selvatico, *Sulla architettura e sulla scultura in Venezia dal Medio Evo sino ai giorni nostri* (Venezia: Ripamonti Carpano, 1847); Flaminio Corner, *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia e di Torcello* (Bologna: Forni, 1990, first published 1758).

¹⁰ Elena Bassi, *Architettura del Sei e Settecento a Venezia* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1962); Camillo Semenzato, *La scultura veneta del seicento e del settecento* (Venice: Alfieri, 1966).

monuments.¹¹

This research relies on a group of critical studies published after 1950 which have redefined and significantly enlarged our knowledge of the Venetian Baroque.¹² In particular, those works which were written or edited by Andrea Bacchi, Massimo Favilla and Ruggero Rugolo, Martina Frank, Simone Guerriero, Andrew Hopkins and Giuseppe Pavanello are conspicuous in their rigorous analysis of the artworks.¹³ Their contributions involve the clarification of chronology, attribution, stylistic analysis and significance of Venetian Baroque sculptures and architectural works, with special attention to Baldassarre Longhena, the main architect of seventeenth-century Venice and the creator of the monument to Doge Giovanni

¹¹ The legacy of Elena Bassi and her influence on later scholars has recently been acknowledged in a commemorative volume. See *Da Longhena a Selva. Un'idea di Venezia a dieci anni dalla scomparsa di Elena Bassi*, ed. Martina Frank (Bologna: Archetipolibri, 2011). For specific mention of studies in the Venetian Baroque published from 1950 onwards, see the essay by Andrew Hopkins in the same book: 'Sulle spalle di Elena Bassi: Longhena studies 1950-2010', pp. 13-28.

¹² See the bibliography mentioned in the next footnote. I would like to acknowledge two recent scholarly contributions related to the topics discussed in this dissertation. An important volume on Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari (*Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari. Immagini di Devozione, Spazi della Fede*, eds Carlo Corsato and Deborah Howard [Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2015]) surprisingly omits the Baroque funerary monuments of the basilica. Meredith Crosbie's doctoral dissertation on Giusto Le Court, which I could not consult because it is still in progress, is the first comprehensive study on the seventeenth-century Flemish sculptor. Once completed, the thesis will also include a catalogue of all known, attributed and lost works by Le Court. See Meredith Crosbie, 'Giusto Le Court: Allegory, Memory, and Identity in Seventeenth-Century Venetian Sculpture', Ph.D thesis (University of St Andrews, forthcoming). I wish to thank Meredith Crosbie for our conversation about her research and for sending me the provisory title of her dissertation. In addition, see Meredith Crosbie, 'Giusto Le Court's seventeenth-century Venetian naval funerary monuments', *Church Monuments* 30 (2015, hereafter referred to as Crosbie, 2015a), pp. 168-92; id., 'The Monuments of the Cappello and Mora Families', in *La chiesa e l'ospedale di San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti: arte, beneficenza, cura, devozione, educazione*, ed. Alexandra Bamji et al. (Venice: Marcianum Press, 2015, hereafter referred to as Crosbie, 2015b), pp. 205-22.

¹³ Simone Guerriero, "'Di tua virtù che infonde spirto a i sassi": per la prima attività veneziana di Giusto Le Court', *Arte Veneta* 55 (1999), pp. 48-71; *La scultura a Venezia da Sansovino a Canova*, ed. Andrea Bacchi (Milan: Longanesi, 2000); *La scultura veneta del seicento e del settecento. Nuovi studi*, ed. Giuseppe Pavanello (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2002); Martina Frank, *Baldassarre Longhena* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2004); Massimo Favilla and Ruggero Rugolo, *Baroque Venice. Splendour and illusion in a 'decadent' world* (Schio: Sassi, 2009); Andrew Hopkins, *Baldassarre Longhena and Venetian Baroque Architecture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012).

Pesaro.

Research on ducal tombs is more extensive in comparison with studies which focus solely on Baroque funerary monuments. The reference study on ducal tombs is Andrea Da Mosto's biographies of the doges, a text which was first published in 1939 and has been thereafter reprinted in revised editions.¹⁴ Da Mosto's book is still the only existing survey of ducal monuments which encompasses the entire history of the Venetian republic, from Doge Paolo Lucio Anafesto (d. 717) to Doge Ludovico Manin (abdicated in 1797). At the time of writing, the investigation of ducal tombs is largely indebted to the research which has been carried out by Robert Munman, Debra Pincus and Jan Simane.¹⁵ Munman's seminal study of Venetian Renaissance tomb monuments, besides providing a stylistic and iconographical analysis on the most notable tomb monuments of the Venetian Renaissance, including those in honour of fifteenth-century doges, influenced later scholarship. Partially inspired by Munman's insights, Pincus and Simane have offered valuable insights into the monuments as means of expression for a certain vision of Venetian politics. Through a survey of the main ducal monuments which were executed between the late Middle Ages and the Cinquecento, these scholars clarified

¹⁴ The biographies published in the original 1939 edition were expanded in 1960, although this edition inexplicably omits the transcriptions of the Latin epigraphs of each monument mentioned in the text. See Andrea Da Mosto, *I dogi di Venezia con particolare riguardo alle loro tombe* (Venice: Ferdinando Ongania, 1939), and id., *I dogi di Venezia nella vita pubblica e privata* (Florence and Milan: Giunti, 2003, second reprint of the 1960 edition).

¹⁵ Robert Munman, 'Venetian Renaissance Tomb Monuments', Ph.D. thesis (Harvard University 1968); Jan Simane, *Grabmonumente der Dogen. Venetianische Sepulchralkunst im Cinquecento* (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1993); Debra Pincus, 'The Venetian Ducal Tomb: Issues of Methodology – and a Note on Titian's *Assunta*', *Verrocchio and Late Quattrocento Italian Sculpture*, ed. Steven Bule et al. (Florence: Le Lettere, 1992), pp. 349-53; id., *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

fundamental issues related to the chronology, execution and meaning of these monuments in the late Middle Ages and in the Venetian Renaissance.

Ducal tombs of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries also have pride of place in two important publications on Venetian Gothic sculpture and architecture by Wolfgang Wolters and Francesco Valcanover.¹⁶ The same is true of research on the Venetian fifteenth-century sculptors who were involved in the execution of ducal monuments, such as the Lombardo workshop, whose oeuvre has been investigated in various monographs including a recent contribution by Anne Markham Schultz.¹⁷ These works are important reference studies for any research on funerary monuments. The ties between medieval, Renaissance and Baroque monuments tend to be more evident than one would expect. As this thesis will demonstrate, Baroque monuments often resulted from the development and elaboration of ideas and modes of representation that had first appeared in Venetian ducal tombs of the late Middle Ages.

Suggestions for new research on funerary monuments came with an international conference on ducal tombs which was held in Venice in 2009.¹⁸ The

¹⁶ Wolfgang Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*, 2 vols (Venice: Alfieri, 1976); *L'architettura gotica veneziana. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio* (Venice, 27-29 November 1996), eds Francesco Valcanover and Wolfgang Wolters (Venice: Istituto veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2000).

¹⁷ Indispensable on Venetian sculpture, with special attention to the working life and conditions of stonemasons between the fourteenth and the fifteenth century, is Susan Connell, *The Employment of Sculptors and Stonemasons in Venice in the Fifteenth Century* (New York: Garland, 1988); on the Lombardo workshop, see *Tullio Lombardo scultore e architetto nella Venezia del Rinascimento. Atti del convegno di studi, Venezia, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 4-6 aprile 2006*, ed. Matteo Ceriana (Verona: Cierre, 2007); Anne Markham Schultz, *The Sculpture of Tullio Lombardo* (London: Harvey Miller, 2014).

¹⁸ *Tombe dogali: la commemorazione dei principi della Repubblica Veneziana* (international conference, Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani, 30 September 2009 and Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 1 October 2009). The conference has been organised by Benjamin Paul, the author of a recent contribution to the study of ducal tombs: see Benjamin Paul, 'Les tombeaux des doges vénitiens: de l'autocélébration dans une République', in *Les funérailles princières en Europe, XVIe-XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Juliusz Chrościcki et al., vol. 2

conference gathered scholars from different institutions who proposed new readings of ducal monuments and utilised different perspectives and methodological approaches. A long-delayed publication of the conference proceedings has recently been published, with the exception of a paper by Massimo Favilla and Ruggero Rugolo which focused on early eighteenth-century Venetian ducal monuments.¹⁹

4. Funerary Monuments and Celebratory Rhetoric

The seventeenth century is a very important period within the history of Venetian monuments. On the one hand, the arrival of foreign sculptors and architects such as Giusto Le Court (1627-79), Heinrich Meyring (c. 1638/39-1723), Giuseppe Pozzo (1645-1721), Antonio (1579-1661) and Giuseppe Sardi (1624-99) contributed to the development of a Baroque vocabulary that surpassed the classicism which had characterised the Venetian Renaissance.²⁰ On the other, events which deeply affected Venetian history in the seventeenth century, such as the military campaigns of Candia (1645-69) and Morea (1684-99) or the ennoblement of non-Venetian families, incentivised a celebratory rhetoric that emphasised themes such as death on the battlefield, service to the state or moral and dynastic nobility. These factors affected the erection of funerary monuments in a way which evoked the military

(Versailles: Centre de Recherche du Château de Versailles, 2013), pp. 159-79.

¹⁹ *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice from the Beginning of the Serenissima to 1907*, ed. Benjamin Paul (Rome: Viella, 2016). This book was only very recently published, seven years after the conference was held in Venice. For this reason, I could neither make any use of it, neither does it make any contribution to the present dissertation, which was researched and written in its entirety before the publication of the conference proceedings appeared in October 2016; Massimo Favilla and Ruggero Rugolo, '*Nomen et cineres una cum vanitate sepulta*: Alvise II Mocenigo e i monumenti dogali nell'ultima età barocca a Venezia', *Arte Veneta* 70 (2013), pp. 103-27.

²⁰ For an overview of Venetian sculpture and architecture in the Baroque period, see Elena Bassi, 'L'architettura', in *Storia di Venezia. Temi: L'arte*, ed. Rodolfo Pallucchini (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1995), pp. 3-61, and Paola Rossi, 'La scultura', in *ibid.*, pp. 119-60.

honours of Venetian commanders or the wealth of the families which had been admitted to the nobility. At the same time, ducal monuments proclaimed the good government of the doges as a result of the good government of Venice or asserted political statements which were imbued with absolutism.

Funerary monuments provide a case study which helps us to investigate the self-celebration of the Venetian patriciate more carefully. The patricians found, in these monuments, a way to satisfy their ambitions and desire of glory. In this dissertation I shall argue that on certain occasions the architectural format of seventeenth-century funerary monuments updated the design of classical buildings in Baroque forms to emphasise the glorification of the deceased. Classicism provided a corpus of images, forms and notions that evoked a sense of sovereign power which had been traditionally associated with the great empires of antiquity, the Roman Empire in particular.²¹ It comes as little surprise, then, that architectural elements such as the pyramid, the obelisk or the triumphal arch that characterise some funerary monuments erected in the Baroque period were originally symbols which had been displayed in classical monuments as symbols of honour or glory.

Scholars of Venetian history have long dealt with the Venetian reception of the Roman past in sculpture or architecture and in the classical definition of Venice as an *altera Roma*.²² Debra Pincus and Ingo Herklotz have already demonstrated that the language of classicism partly influenced the structure and significance of funerary

²¹ Ingo Herklotz, «*Sepulcra*» e «*Monumenta*» del medioevo. *Studi sull'arte sepolcrale in Italia* (Rome: Edizioni Rari Nantes, 1985), pp. 217-18.

²² Barbara Marx, *Venezia – altera Roma? Ipotesi sull'umanesimo veneziano* (Venice: Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani, 1978); Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice & Antiquity. The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996).

monuments as early as the Middle Ages.²³ It is also worth observing that the origins of the symbols of Venetian civic identity go as far back as the eleventh and twelfth centuries.²⁴ To clarify the rhetorical significance of the monuments, in this thesis I will pay special attention to the influence of antiquity and the legacy of ancient Rome in the Venetian practice of erecting funerary monuments. In particular, in Chapter One I explain how the way in which the Venetians conceived their past and regarded themselves as heirs to the Roman patriciate affected the execution and reception of their funerary monuments. To clarify the point I will compare the monuments to seventeenth-century biographies, a literary genre that enjoyed considerable success in the Renaissance and later in the Baroque period. The reading of these biographies in support of analysis of the artworks demonstrates that funerary monuments were conceived as exempla of the deeds of illustrious men. In Venice, the publication of the first early modern edition of Valerius Maximus's *Dictorum et factorum memorabilium* in 1471, a collection of anecdotes and moralising examples concerning the lives of the ancient Romans, led to the dissemination of biographies, which are also analysed in Chapter One. By extolling the lives of the illustrious men, these biographies evoked ethical models of uncorrupted morality. Basically, these models recalled the mythicized vision of Venice as a republic of outstanding citizens which had been described in the writings of historians or humanists of the Republic, most notably Gasparo Contarini (1483-1542) and Paolo Paruta (1540-98). Just as Roman ancestors

²³ Herklotz (1985), pp. 211-38; Pincus (2000), *passim*.

²⁴ See for example the pioneering, yet still essential, article by Agostino Pertusi on the symbols of the sovereign power of the Venetian republic: Agostino Pertusi, 'Quedam Regalia insignia. Ricerche sulle insegne del potere ducale a Venezia durante il medioevo', *Studi Veneziani* 7 (1965), pp. 3-123.

were regarded as ethical models, so too the monuments inspired by Roman tombs evoked the essence of the Roman past and exhorted the viewers to emulate the virtuous behaviour of their ancestors.²⁵ The sense of the greatness of ancient Rome was evoked especially in the monuments in honour of the popes, which became vehicles for propagandistic messages concerning the *renovatio imperii*.²⁶

The idea of empire traditionally associated with Roman antiquity is especially evident in funerary monuments which were inspired by the tombs of Roman popes and cardinals. Papal tombs visually represented the sacrality and sovereign essence of the pope's prelacy. When the design of Venetian monuments was inspired by these tombs, Venice claimed its privileged status in matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and asserted that its authority was on a par with the Holy See. There is no doubt that certain sculptors and architects who were active in Venice at the time were inspired by the rhetorical and plastic effects which were in vogue in seventeenth-century Rome, especially in the oeuvre of Gian Lorenzo Bernini. Comparisons between Venetian and Roman funerary monuments are made in all the chapters in this thesis. In particular, I will underscore the influence that the enthroned figure of the pope had in ducal monuments such as those made in honour of the doges Leonardo Loredan and Giovanni Pesaro in Chapters One and Two. Furthermore, in Chapters Two, Five and Six, I shall examine funerary monuments which incorporate a portal or were erected above a door. This characteristic was quite common in both Venetian and papal tombs of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

²⁵ Cf. Herklotz (1985), p. 218.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 218.

Finally, I will argue that the figure of the pope which dominates allegorical personifications in Baroque papal tombs was a source of inspiration for Venetian ducal monuments, as shown in my analysis of Antonio Gaspari's projects for funerary monuments for Doges Francesco Morosini and Bertuccio Valier in Chapters Five and Six.

Why do seventeenth-century Venetian funerary monuments so greatly emphasise the triumph of the individual? Why are they generally more impressive than their Renaissance counterparts? In Chapter One I observe that Venetian scholars and humanists delineated a quasi-nationalistic vision of the Venetian state and society. By studying Aristotelian ethics and adapting them to the government of the Venetian republic, Venetians found an ethical-philosophical justification for their ambitions. In the seventeenth century, the rhetoric of celebration reached its peak as a consequence of the progressive decline of the Venetian state. To mask and offset reality, the Venetians sought refuge in the myth, that is, in an idealised vision of Venice. The funerary monuments and, more broadly, the visual arts, are a reflection of this phenomenon. Therefore, in order to fully comprehend the rhetorical message of the monuments, it is necessary to observe them as a mirror of the Venetians' social behaviours in the seventeenth century.

To clarify the point, in Chapters Three, Four and Five I concentrate on a type of funerary monument which is generally known as the "commemorative façade". Scholars use this term to define a church façade which has been transformed into an honorific monument. This custom takes its roots on the façades of medieval

churches found in the territories of the Venetian dominion and beyond,²⁷ although the most suggestive examples can be found in Venice from the fifteenth century onwards.²⁸ Commemorative façades are explored by Martin Gaier in an important monograph.²⁹ According to Gaier, they should be construed as “profane” because they were conceived of as a means to celebrate their patrons, thereby violating the sacral sphere of the religious building. These façades mirrored the wealth which had been amassed by the patricians who had come to power through trade and politics, especially in the seventeenth century. The number of commemorative façades gradually increased and reached its peak in the second half of the seventeenth century, especially in the aftermath of the ennoblement of non-patrician families from 1646 onwards.

Gaier’s research is a valuable and pellucid study of Venetian sculpture and architecture. The author is extremely meticulous in his description and analysis of primary sources, most of which are published by him for the first time. These

²⁷ An important example is the façade of San Lorenzo in Vicenza which exhibits four fourteenth-century tombs on the sides of the portal. Moreover, the portal (1342-45) depicts the Vicentine Pietro da Marano, the donor of the portal, kneeling before the Virgin and Child and saints. See Martin Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano. Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2002), pp. 23-38, esp. p. 30. Massimo Favilla and Ruggero Rugolo claim that the Venetian commemorative façades were probably inspired by the statue of Pope Boniface VIII on the façade of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence and that of Pope Julius II on the façade of San Petronio in Bologna, which were both exhibited when the popes were still alive but were soon after removed. See Favilla and Rugolo (2013), pp. 113-16.

²⁸ In Venice, the earliest commemorative façade is the honorific monument to the naval captain Vittore Cappello on the portal of Sant’Elena (c. 1468). See Massimo Favilla and Ruggero Rugolo, ‘Frammenti dalla Venezia barocca’, *Atti dell’Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti. Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti* 163 (2004-05), p. 47.

²⁹ Gaier (2002). Gaier’s approach has been challenged by Favilla and Rugolo (2004-05), pp. 47-138. In addition to Gaier, the reference studies on the commemorative façades are Jan Białostoki, ‘Die Kirchenfassade als Ruhmesdenkmal der Stifter’, *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 20 (1983), pp. 3-16, and Martina Frank, ‘Spazio pubblico, prospetti di chiese a glorificazione gentilizia nella Venezia del seicento’, *Atti dell’Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti. Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti* 144 (1985-86), pp. 109-26.

characteristics make Gaier's book a crucial volume. Nonetheless, in this thesis I will argue that the interpretation of commemorative façades as profane monuments is inaccurate and belies their true nature. Although the celebrative purpose of these façades is indisputable, they do not actually desacralise the church. On the contrary, the incorporation of a monument in a church façade sacralises the deceased who is metaphorically elevated on a par with a religious figure. The symbolical elevation of the status of the deceased, which in this dissertation is defined as "aggrandisement", is a component of the Venetian myth. There were not only specific laws in Venice – the so-called *jus patronatus* – that granted Venetians privileges in the churches belonging to their parish;³⁰ more importantly, the patricians supported the erection of commemorative façades based on their self-perception as free and independent members of the Venetian community.³¹ Therefore, commemorative façades are part of the myth of Venice because the myth itself enabled the virtuous patrician the freedom to transform a church façade into an honorific monument as a reward for his service and loyalty to the Venetian Republic. In spite of their unquestionably celebrative nature, Venice supported the erection of these façades in order to preserve its own survival in a time of serious political and economical hardship.³² The celebrative façade as a device which exhibits the empowerment of Venetian families is the topic explored in my analyses of the monuments to Captain Antonio Barbaro, the Fini Family and Doge Francesco Morosini. As I will explain in my

³⁰ As Gaier himself acknowledged. See Gaier (2002), pp. 11-22. See also Favilla and Rugolo (2005), pp. 56-57.

³¹ Ibid., *passim*, esp. p. 57.

³² Suffice it to mention the progressive impoverishment of the patriciate and the military campaigns in Candia and Morea.

analysis of these monuments in Chapters Three, Four and Five, the religious framework of these monuments is a crucial component of dynastic and self-celebration. In this light, the sacralisation of the deceased is justified inasmuch as their deeds or sacrifice to the state are considered as acts of civic and religious piety.

As mentioned above, the study of these commemorative façades brings us to focus more attentively on monuments as expressions of the social behaviours of the Venetians. An approach that blends art history methodology with that of the social sciences enables us to assess the monuments more attentively and in a more nuanced way. This dissertation relies upon two academic works which focus on two aspects of Venetian culture, namely civic ritual and the self-representation of the patriciate. In the first place, the aforementioned study by Edward Muir represents an influential work on Venetian civic ritual, thanks to its blend of anthropological and historical approaches.³³ Moreover, in an in-depth and deeply illuminating volume, Dorit Raines investigates the Venetian myth through the lens of the image the patriciate forged of itself.³⁴ Raines's approach is influenced by social history, anthropology and political philosophy. Although Muir's research does not focus on funerary monuments and Raines refers to them only occasionally, both have shaped the groundwork for the many issues I address in this dissertation.

Outside the Venetian setting, a similar methodological background characterises

³³ See Guido Ruggiero, review of Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, in *Journal of Social History* 16/3 (1983), pp. 192-94.

³⁴ Dorit Raines, *L'invention du mythe aristocratique. L'image de soi du patriciat vénitien au temps de la Sérénissime* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti, 2006).

a number of recent monographs on early modern funerary monuments.³⁵ Most of these studies are published by the *Requiem Projekt*, a collaborative research project between the Humboldt Universität in Berlin and the Bergischen Universität Wuppertal, that engages with the interdisciplinary study of early modern funerary monuments of Roman popes and cardinals.³⁶ These studies explore the themes of memory, death and social legitimation, and combine an art history analysis of the artworks with an approach that is normally specific to social sciences. Most of the monuments are Roman, although some of those executed in early modern Europe are also investigated.³⁷ This project is inspired by a cross-disciplinary approach, which has only occasionally been applied to Venetian monuments.

The recognition of a rhetorical message behind funerary monuments, and its investigation in relation to Venetian celebrative imagery broaden the horizons of this research. In recent years a number of new and stimulating studies on the relationship between art, rhetoric and society have been published.³⁸ Relying on Michael Baxandall and David Freedberg, who investigated the viewer's response to images

³⁵ *Tod und Verklärung. Grabmalkultur in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds Arne Karsten and Philipp Zitzlsperger (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004); *Macht und Memoria. Begräbniskultur europäischer Oberschichten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Mark Hengerer (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005); *Grab, Kult, Memoria: Studien zur gesellschaftlichen Funktion von Erinnerung*, ed. Carolin Behrmann et al. (Cologne: Böhlau, 2007); *Vom Nachleben der Kardinäle. Römische Kardinalsgrabmäler der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds Arne Karsten and Philipp Zitzlsperger (Berlin: Mann Verlag, 2010); *Das Grabmal des Günstlings. Studien zur Memorialkultur frühneuzeitlicher Favoriten*, ed. Arne Karsten (Berlin: Mann Verlag, 2011).

³⁶ *REQUIEM Die Römischen Papst - und Kardinalsgrabmäler der Frühen Neuzeit*, <http://www.requiem-projekt.de>, consulted 1 November 2016. A comprehensive catalogue of the *Requiem* publications is provided on the *Requiem Projekt* website.

³⁷ See the case studies presented in Hengerer (2005) and Behrmann et al. (2007).

³⁸ Fredrika H. Jacobs, *The Living Image in Renaissance Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Joris Van Gastel, *Il marmo spirante. Sculpture and Experience in Seventeenth-Century Rome* (Berlin and Leiden: Akademie Verlag – Leiden University Press, 2013); *The Secret Lives of Artworks. Exploring the Boundaries between Art and Life*, ed. Caroline Van Eck et al. (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2014); Caroline Van Eck, *Art, Agency and Living Presence. From the Animated Image to the Excessive Object* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2015).

through an interdisciplinary approach which encompasses art history, psychology, social sciences and visual rhetoric,³⁹ these studies have explored the boundaries between art and life, thereby demonstrating the way in which the spectator regarded artworks as living objects, as if they were animated by their own life. The attribution of a living presence to the images renegotiates the relationship between artworks and the spectator, who is inspired to record his or her emotions in jottings, especially ekphrastic poems.

Celebrative rhetoric deals with the visual arts in different ways. As Caroline Van Eck observed, rhetoric as understood as the art of persuasive speaking found a means of persuasion in the visual arts.⁴⁰ Van Eck explained that in spite of its mathematical foundations, architecture deals with rhetoric because both are capable of persuading the public.⁴¹ Firstly, architectural ornament may be compared to figures of speech; secondly, an architect becomes an orator when he presents his designs to the public.⁴² The postulating of architecture as social art forms the basis of the similarities between architecture and rhetoric, which finds its theoretical fundamentals in the works of the humanist and Patriarch-Elect of Aquileia Daniele Barbaro (1514-70).⁴³ Scholars observed that Barbaro, as well as other sixteenth-century Italian architects such as Gherardo Spini and Vincenzo Scamozzi,

³⁹ Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition, 1350-1450* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989).

⁴⁰ Caroline Van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 36-37.

⁴² Ibid., p. 37.

⁴³ Ibid.

delineated a strongly rhetorical view of architecture.⁴⁴ Key points of Barbaro's theory are the relations between rhetoric and architecture, the importance of architecture for society, and the way in which the architect can move the viewer.⁴⁵

The engagement between rhetoric and the arts, and especially the way in which architecture interacts with the spectator, is one of the main themes which is explored in this thesis. Scholars have demonstrated that Baroque aesthetics was concerned with finding new and stimulating ways to delight and persuade the viewer.⁴⁶ By emphasising the likeness of sculptures and piquing the interest of the spectator through unusual forms, funerary monuments moved the viewer and became rhetorical devices that generate marvel and surprise. To better comprehend the viewer's reaction when faced with the monuments, I will avail myself of primary sources such as those poems or panegyrics which extoll the monuments and their sculptors or architects. Close scrutiny of these texts provides an insight into the reception and significance of the monuments, and into the way in which the monuments are described and reinvented in seventeenth-century literature. Some of these works were written by members of the Venetian learned societies known as *accademie*. One of the most active was the *Accademia degli Incogniti*, which was founded by the patrician Gianfrancesco Loredan (1607-61). Among its members were writers,

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid. For a fuller overview of architecture and rhetoric, see *ibid.*, pp. 31-50.

⁴⁶ Giulio Carlo Argan, 'La «rettorica» e l'arte barocca', in *Retorica e barocco. Atti del III Congresso Internazionale di Studi Umanistici* (Venice 15-18 June 1954), ed. Enrico Castelli (Rome: Bocca, 1955), pp. 9-14; Guido Morfugo Tagliabue, 'Aristotelismo e barocco', in Castelli (1955), pp. 119-95; Lionello Puppi and Ruggero Rugolo, "'Un'ordinaria forma non alletta". Arte, riflessione sull'arte e società', in *Storia di Venezia*, ed. Gino Benzoni, vol. 7 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1997), pp. 595-699.

painters and sculptors such as Girolamo Brusoni (1614-86), Giovanni Francesco Busenello (1598-1659), Clemente Molli (c. 1599-1664), Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato (1606-78), Antonio Lupis (1620-1700), Ferrante Pallavicino (1615-44) and Giulio Strozzi (1583-1652).⁴⁷ To investigate the monuments means also investigating seventeenth-century Venetian literature, a field of research that still deserves further scrutiny. A comparative reading of the images and of contemporary epideictic literature corroborates analysis of the monuments: a recognition of the critical dialectic between word and image helps us to clarify the power of the images as rhetorical instruments which are able to persuasively engage the viewer and elicit social consensus.

5. The Structure of this Thesis

This thesis is structured in a way that presents the monuments in a chronological and thematic order. Each chapter focuses on one or more monuments as case studies addressing the different themes which have been touched upon here: the idea of empire and the legacy of the Roman past; the notions of gift and sacrifice in relation to funerary monuments; the *topos* of the living image; and the aggrandisement and self-celebration of Venetian patricians. The development of Venetian Baroque monuments is construed as a sort of parabola that begins with the monument to Doge Leonardo Loredan (partially completed by 1616) and reaches its peak with Baldassarre Longhena's monument to Doge Giovanni Pesaro (1665-69). This

⁴⁷ Bernard Aikema, *Pietro Della Vecchia and the Heritage of the Renaissance in Venice* (Florence: Istituto Universitario Olandese di Storia dell'arte, 1990), pp. 75-86. On the *Incogniti*, see the excellent monograph by Tiziana Menegatti, "Ex ignoto notus". *Bibliografia delle opere a stampa del Principe degli Incogniti: Giovan Francesco Loredano* (Padua: Il poligrafo, 2000).

monument, whose architectural and historical significance is unrivalled, set a paradigm for Venetian Baroque monuments and influenced the execution and reception of monuments executed in the second half of the seventeenth century in many different ways. The evolution of Venetian Baroque monuments finds a conclusion in the mausoleum to the Valier family in Santi Giovanni e Paolo (1704-07). This mausoleum was the last major Venetian monument of the Baroque period. It symbolically marks the end of a period and of the cultural tendencies that fashioned the Venetian funerary monument in the seventeenth century.

Chapter One explores the way in which the republican ethic as it was interpreted by the humanists of the Venetian republic fashioned the production of ducal monuments in the early seventeenth century. Interestingly, there are relatively few seventeenth-century monuments in honour of doges.⁴⁸ It was generally the duty of the families of the deceased doge to arrange the execution of the monument, which may or may not have been requested by the doge when he was alive. Issues of a varied nature usually delayed the construction work. For this reason, some doges who ruled in the sixteenth century (Leonardo Loredan, 1436-1521, Pasquale Cicogna, 1509-95, and Marino Grimani, 1532-1605) had their monuments executed or completed only in the seventeenth century. The aim of Chapter One is to demonstrate the continuity in design and thematic contents of the funerary monuments to Doges Leonardo Loredan, Pasquale Cicogna, Marino Grimani and

⁴⁸ Not all seventeenth-century doges requested a funerary monument, and many were demolished during the Napoleonic suppressions. For a summary of Baroque ducal tombs (both existing and demolished), see Favilla and Rugolo (2013), p. 104, note 23.

Marcantonio Memmo. The analysis of these monuments will pay particular attention to the architectural significance of the triumphal arch, the enthroned statue of the doge, and the balance between the themes of the triumph of the individual and the celebration of Venice. Especially the design of the monument to Doge Leonardo Loredan (almost completed by 1616), with its emphasis on the triumphal arch structure and the enthroned figure of the doge, to different degrees influenced the structure of later monuments, such as those to Giovanni Pesaro (1669) and the mausoleum of the Valier family in 1707.

Chapter Two focuses on the funerary monument to Doge Giovanni Pesaro which was devised by Baldassarre Longhena and executed with the collaboration of Giusto Le Court, Melchior Barthel, Francesco Cavrioli and Michel Fabris. This monument begins a new phase in the history of seventeenth-century Venetian funerary monuments. On the one hand its design, which is inspired by the structure of a triumphal arch, as well as the motif of the enthroned statue of the doge, recall the Loredan monument. On the other, its rhetorical potency and an unprecedented emphasis on the triumph of the doge make this monument an extraordinary case study to investigate the celebration of the individual in seventeenth-century Venice. Chapter Two argues that the Pesaro monument is a complex rhetorical device which both celebrates the doge and inculcates the viewer with a propagandistic message. Seventeenth-century observers of the monument recorded their impressions in panegyric poetry and regarded it as a living image. The scrutiny of the *topoi* evoked by these poems provides a valuable resource which can help us to understand the

monument and its effects on the public. In addition to visual rhetoric, Chapter Two deals with the interaction between sculpture, architecture and the viewer through a visual analysis of the monument and its architectural and visual sources.

The remaining chapters assess the impact and the legacy of the Pesaro monument in the second half of the seventeenth century. Chapter Three explores notions of “sacrifice” and “aggrandisement” in relation to the commemorative monument to Captain Caterino Cornaro in Padua and the dynastic monument to Antonio Barbaro and his family on the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio. The Cornaro monument was merely the vehicle for a commemorative message: the monument as a tribute to the military services of Cornaro during the Cretan War. Conversely, the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio was conceived of as an aggrandisement of Antonio Barbaro and as a rehabilitation of the prestige of his family.

In Chapter Four, the analysis of Alessandro Tremignon’s monument to the Fini Family in San Moisè and Longhena’s monument to the merchant Bartolomeo Cagnoni on the façade of Santa Maria dei Derelitti provides a case study with which to investigate notions of liberty and identity. The dynastic monument of the Fini, a Venetian family admitted to the nobility in 1649, is an instrument of social legitimation and a motion for the legitimacy of upward social mobility. The chapter interprets the ennoblement of the Fini family as a privilege which was granted by the state in the name of the freedom Venice granted to its citizens. Accordingly, the Fini exploited republican ideology to aggrandise themselves. The incorporation of a

dynastic monument into a church façade is therefore conceived of as an honour in return for the services of the Fini family to the state in the preceding years, and following its admission to the patriciate. The façade of Santa Maria dei Derelitti exemplifies the altruism of its benefactor, the merchant Bartolomeo Cargnoni (d. 1662), and the philanthropic mission of the hospital of Santi Giovanni e Paolo. Firstly, the chapter compares and contrasts the façade of Santa Maria dei Derelitti with its main architectural model, the Pesaro monument. Secondly, an analysis of the unorthodox architecture of this façade leads to a discussion of the concept of architectural licence and an evaluation of their elaboration in Longhena's architecture.

Chapters Five and Six focus mainly on Antonio Gaspari (1656-1723), a follower of Longhena and one of the most original, although overlooked, seventeenth-century Venetian architects. In particular, Chapter Five explores Gaspari's designs for a funerary monument to Doge Francesco Morosini in Santo Stefano and on the façade of San Vidal as an exemplification of the doge's quasi-imperialistic ambitions and personality traits. Special attention is laid on the visual and literary sources that inspired Gaspari, among which are Baroque Roman monuments and the notion of rustication as it was processed in the writings of the Bolognese architect Sebastiano Serlio. Similar thematic contents characterise Gaspari's drawings for the mausoleum of the Valier family in San Vidal, which are investigated in Chapter Six. As typical of Gaspari designs, these projects feature unusual details and surprising scenic effects which were partially inspired by the Roman Baroque. Gaspari's projects remained

unexecuted and the actual monument was devised by Andrea Tirali (1657-1737) in Santi Giovanni e Paolo. My analysis aims to underline the continuity between the design and thematic contents of this mausoleum and the Loredan monument, which had been erected in the same church. Comparative analysis of both monuments shows an attenuation in the emphasis given to the triumph of the individual by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Therefore, the monument to the Valier family restored the celebratory modes of the Loredan monument and symbolically brought the history of the erection of sumptuous funerary monuments in Baroque Venice to an end.

To facilitate the reading and comprehension of the monuments, I have included three appendices at the end of this thesis. These transcribe the poems cited in the main text as one basis for analysis of the monuments, and other important primary sources. Appendix One transcribes the two redactions of the funerary eulogy displayed in the Pesaro monument. The first redaction was published in Emanuele Tesauero's *Inscriptiones* (1665), a text I analyse in Chapter Two. The second redaction is the actual eulogy which is displayed in the Pesaro monument, and its differences from the first version are also examined in Chapter Two. Overall, this appendix aims to provide the reader with the opportunity to compare and contrast both redactions of the funerary eulogies, which are transcribed together for the first time in the present study. Appendix Two transcribes an ekphrastic poem by the Venetian poet Giovanni Prati extolling Giusto Le Court's sculptures of the Pesaro monument which are discussed in Chapter Two. The reading of the poem sheds light on the way

in which panegyric ekphrasis described and reinvented monuments while supplying vital information on seventeenth-century spectatorship. Appendix Three transcribes a lyric poem written in honour of Captain Caterino Cornaro, whose commemorative monument is analysed in Chapter Three. The poem, which is also investigated in Chapter Three, invokes monuments erected in memory of Caterino Cornaro. Especially important in this poem are its allusions to the classical *topos* of the living image, whose impact on the reception of funerary monuments is addressed in Chapters Two and Three.

Chapter One

The Premise: Ducal Tomb Monuments in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the erection of opulent funerary monuments in honour of Venetian patricians was a rather well-consolidated tradition. The practice of financing monumental tombs in churches or in funerary chapels goes back to the Middle Ages, and by the Renaissance it was considered one of the most suitable ways to commemorate patricians. The construction of these monuments responded to celebrative and social needs. Thus funerary monuments became, among other things, a way to celebrate prominent citizens, to flaunt a position that had been achieved in the social hierarchy of Venice, or to aggrandise notable patricians. A case in point is the ducal tomb: as Debra Pincus observes, funerary monuments in honour of doges are ‘carriers of political ideas about the Venetian State and the character of the Ducal office’.¹ It is in the Middle Ages, and in particular in the tomb of Doge Jacopo Tiepolo (d. 1275) in Santi Giovanni e Paolo that a new class of civic monuments emerges for the first time.² The monumental character of the Tiepolo tomb set the tone for ducal tombs which were erected thereafter. By 1339, when the burial of Doge Francesco Dandolo was executed, the

¹ Pincus (2000), p. 1.

² Ibid., p. 11.

role of the ducal tomb as a public commemoration was well understood.³ In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, mendicant orders contributed to the flourishing of monuments to powerful doges of the time. Along with the Frari basilica, the church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo rapidly became 'the tomb-church of office holders' and burials accommodated therein were configured as a visual means to express civic pride.⁴

As well as being a vehicle for religious and political ideas, monumental tombs also respond to a further need. As has been observed, they fulfil both a commemorative and a moral function.⁵ As a burial place, tombs perpetuate the funerary memory of the deceased. The moral function is evident when tombs commemorate individuals who have distinguished themselves in life with their achievements: the funerary memory of the deceased is in this case regarded as a virtuous model worthy of being commemorated in a monument.⁶ The originality of Venetian funerary monuments lies in the complementarity of these two functions. Besides the merely commemorative aspect, the didactic function of these monuments was particularly marked and became an opportunity to indirectly celebrate Venice. It was the duty of the patrons of these tombs to strike the right balance between the celebration of patricians and the celebration of the state. Excessive emphasis on self-celebration, which had been traditionally discouraged by the Republic, was severely punished and even banned in the case of ducal tombs.

³ Ibid., p. 12.

⁴ Ibid., p. 13.

⁵ Herklotz (1985), pp. 218-19.

⁶ Ibid., p. 219.

Nonetheless, it is significant that some important funerary monuments put special emphasis on the celebration of their dedicatees – Baldassarre Longhena’s monument to Doge Giovanni Pesaro in the Frari basilica (1669) is a case in point. Conversely, in ducal tombs such as the monument of Doge Leonardo Loredan in Santi Giovanni e Paolo (1566-1616) religious commemoration is diluted by the monument’s celebration of Venice.

In addition to examining the commemorative role of funerary monuments, it is part of the scope of this dissertation to demonstrate the manifold functions which were fulfilled by these works in the Venetian context and how these resulted from differences not only in typology, but also in artistic genre. It is equally important to consider the way in which these functions provide insights into Venice’s celebratory imagery. This chapter attempts to set the analysis of funerary monuments within the conceptual framework of *theme-genre-function*. I will first concentrate on the theoretical background of the production of ducal tombs in the first half of the seventeenth century. Subsequently, I will provide an iconographical analysis of the funerary monument to Doge Leonardo Loredan (1436-1521) as a major case study where these aspects will be the object of my analysis. Particular attention will be paid to the way in which a specific theme – the defence of the common good – is symbolised by a design inspired by Roman triumphal arches which fulfils the specific function of extolling Venice through its celebration of the doge’s exploits. This chapter also aims to investigate the way in which the Loredan monument influenced the iconography of other major early seventeenth-century ducal tombs: the monuments to the doges

Pasquale Cicogna (1509-95), Marino Grimani (1532-1605) and Marcantonio Memmo (1536-1615). These monuments are conspicuous for their adherence to the same architectural structure – the triumphal arch – and the adoption of different variations on the same theme – the celebration of Venice in the light of the doge’s virtues. The significance of these monuments resides in the doges’ aggrandisement as excellent military commanders, divine rulers, biblical figures and heirs to the Roman patricians. Good government, the sacrality of the doge’s office, and the mythic origins of the Venetians as citizens of impeccable morality and an unimpeachable sense of duty are, therefore, the constitutive elements of Venice’s traditional imagery. In each monument, these elements offer an opportunity to reflect upon the traditional imagery that scholars have referred to as the “myth of Venice”.⁷

1. The Background: Funerary Monuments and Republican Ideology

The defence of the common good is one of the fundamentals of Venetian ideology. Far from being a merely individual task, the preservation of the state is the duty of every patrician and a pillar of the celebration of the Venetian ruling class. The idea that patricians should sacrifice their lives for the sake of their country was expounded by various humanists of the Republic and was an important focus for the patrician and historiographer Paolo Paruta. In his treatise entitled *Della perfezione della vita politica*, first published in 1579, Paruta envisages a dialogue among several patricians about the “perfection” of political life. Paruta’s intention is to demonstrate how virtuous actions help humankind to reach the condition of ‘public happiness’,

⁷ For a bibliography on the myth of Venice, see above Introduction, note 1.

which in his view represents the most advanced stage in the career of patricians involved in politics. According to Paruta, virtuous actions are a result of the combination of intense civic sentiment and the active life of patricians who are engaged in the management of state affairs. Inspired by virtue, human actions become exemplary and contribute towards the public profit, that is, the state's preservation:

[The] legislator [...] endeavours to instil in the mind of citizens at least some semblance of the virtues which are of benefit to the community. However, not only with the example of honesty, but also with that of honour and glory, he persuades them to accomplish just and vigorous things; and even if these actions are not achieved with justice and vigour, I nevertheless consider them to be worthy of honour because they are useful to the common good.⁸

The idea that Venetian citizens should devote their lives to the wellbeing of the Republic helps to understand the rhetorical significance of funerary monuments. For Paruta, the efforts of patricians in serving the state must be rewarded through the glorification of their deeds.⁹ Paruta obviously establishes a strict relationship between virtuous actions and the state's preservation. Acknowledging the significance of this interrelation is fundamental in understanding the ideological

⁸ Paolo Paruta, *Della perfezione della vita politica di m. Paolo Paruta nobile vinetiano* (Venetia: Domenico Nicolini, 1579), pp. 237-38: '[Il] legislatore [...] cerca d'introdurre nell'animo de' cittadini, almeno tale sembianza di virtù, quale si ricerca al beneficio della città: però non co'l porre davanti la honestà; ma insieme co'l stimolo dell'honore, et della gloria è egli usato di persuader loro il fare le cose giusti, et forti: le quali operationi, tuttoche giustamente, et fortemente non siano fatte; stimo però, che elle sieno degne di honore; perché sono di giovamento al ben commune'.

⁹ Raines (2006), p. 199.

background which lies behind funerary monuments.

By following in Paruta's footsteps, Venetian humanists in the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-centuries produced a vast array of eulogistic writings which stress the importance of the concept of civic duty in the service of the state. Among these works are collections of biographies and eulogies of illustrious citizens, a literary genre which enjoyed great success after the publication of Paolo Giovio's *Elogia virorum litteris illustrium* in 1546.¹⁰ Remarkably, these works concur in maintaining that the lives of patricians are subordinate to the preservation of the state. In these works, eulogy is a rhetorical device which is used to acknowledge the merits of those who have endeavoured to serve the state to the point of sacrificing their own lives for it. The eulogies of illustrious men, therefore, contributed to the development of moral principles which assign prominent roles to virtue, courage and sense of duty. As Dorit Raines observes, the importance of the lives of patricians is assessed according to the contributions they made to the wealth and preservation of the community.¹¹ It must also be noted that compilations of biographies of illustrious men exhort the reader to follow a code of conduct which is characterised as ideal or heroic. In these works, the rhetorical potency of the written word enhances the evocative power of the printed portraits of the person who is being eulogised.¹² Codified in the eulogies, the *exempla* of the *homines illustres* become a normative model: from medieval

¹⁰ On the *elogia* in the Renaissance and the Baroque, see Tommaso Casini, *Ritratti parlanti: collezionismo e biografie illustrate nei secoli XVI e XVII* (Florence: Edifir, 2004).

¹¹ Raines (2006), p. 361.

¹² Cf. Maria Monica Donato, *Gli eroi romani tra storia ed «exemplum»: I primi cicli umanistici di Uomini Famosi*, in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, ed. Salvatore Settis, vol. 2 (Turin: Einaudi, 1985), pp. 95-152, esp. p. 120.

figurative cycles dedicated to famous citizens to early printed books, the tradition of the *exempla* establishes an ethical ideal which was unanimously acknowledged as morally effective.¹³

It is pertinent to consider funerary monuments as a variation of the literary genre of the eulogy. Just as encomia combine a printed portrait with a written text, so too do the monuments composed of images and commemorative inscriptions (the funerary epitaph). The parallel between monuments and eulogies can also be observed in iconographic terms. This relationship is evident in the frontispieces which were printed in illustrated biographies and their derivation from the design of triumphal arches, a topic to which I shall return.¹⁴ It is also apposite to think of words and images as following a parallel path, both aiming to extol the actions of famous men and thereby imprinting an ethical model upon readers or beholders of books and monuments. It is no surprise, then, that very often literati worked alongside architects to devise the programmes of funerary monuments, as was the case with the monument to Doge Giovanni Pesaro (1669).¹⁵ On other occasions, the design of some monuments was influenced by texts which extolled the deeds of the deceased, as with the monument to Captain Alvise Mocenigo (1658-65).¹⁶ By describing the monuments, words reactivate images and simultaneously invoke

¹³ For a broader investigation of Venetian ethics in connection with the themes explored in this research, see Raines (2006), pp. 187-236, and 293-362.

¹⁴ See Section 2 in this chapter. For the frontispieces in early printed books and their derivation from triumphal arches, see H. F. Bouchery, 'Des arcs triomphaux aux frontispices de livres', in *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, eds Jean Jacquot and Elie Konigson, vol. 1 (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1956), pp. 431-42.

¹⁵ This monument will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

¹⁶ As demonstrated by Roberta Pellegriti, 'La chiesa dell'ospedale di San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti', *Arte Veneta* 43 (1989-90), p. 154.

rhetoical values concerning the ideal status which was reached by the person being celebrated.

Eulogies and monuments thus share the same objective: both evoke the memory of illustrious citizens, thereby transforming their actions into moralising models. However, what do these models aim to convey? In the case of the monuments, we have already seen that celebration stresses a notion of defence of the common good. Nonetheless, the state's preservation is only a consequence of virtuous actions. In Venetian ideology, the roots of the moralising model can be traced in a behaviour which the patricians perceived as being mythical. From the Renaissance onwards, the "mythical" code of conduct was identified with a sense of being heirs to the Roman legacy. The Venetian patricians considered themselves to be the descendants of the Roman nobility and found an idealised model they thought to be worthy of imitation in their presumed ancestors.¹⁷

The fact that Venetian patricians recognised an ethical model in their Roman ancestors brings us to consider two distinct but interrelated points. Firstly, the conception that the patricians had of history. The way in which this notion was theorised is essential to fully comprehending the evocative power of images and their capacity to keep memory alive. Moreover, the idealised image of the "perfect" patrician, who is identified with the Roman hero, recalls another ideological model: the idea of empire. The myth of the Roman past was revived in Venice in the

¹⁷ Raines (2006), pp. 200-01. It is not a coincidence that patricians are often compared to Roman heroes in panegyric literature. On the illustrious origins of Venetian citizens, see Muir (1981), pp. 65-74. For the Venetian sense of the Roman past in the arts, see Fortini Brown (1996).

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and brought new life to an idea of empire, which was to become a pillar of Venice's traditional imagery.¹⁸ Most importantly, ideas of history and empire tend to be superimposed in funerary monuments. On the one hand, monuments immortalise the deceased and their deeds. On the other, these actions are recognised as exemplifying ethical models of Roman origin which are capable of responding to the celebrative needs of the patricians.

In Venice, Roman history is perceived as a normative model at least from Cardinal Gasparo Contarini's *De magistratibus et Republica Venetorum* (1543) onwards. The tradition of the *maiores*, the Roman ancestors, also plays a prominent role in numerous ancient treatises and panegyrics.¹⁹ An influential work which addresses this topic is the *Dictorum et factorum memorabilium* by the Latin historian Valerius Maximus.²⁰ According to Maximus, the comparative study of the *exempla* aims to establish a model for new generations. In particular, he recommends that the ruling class appropriately conform its behaviour to the benefit of the community. When the Venetian edition of this work was published in 1471, the patricians found an ideal model in Valerius Maximus which laid the foundations for successive compilations of biographies of famous citizens. A range of works influenced by Valerius Maximus

¹⁸ Essential on this topic is Frances Amelia Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London and Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1975), especially pp. 1-87. The study of the reception of the idea of empire in Venetian art and history deserves further scrutiny. I found the following studies particularly stimulating: David Sanderson Chambers, *The Imperial Age of Venice 1380-1580* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1970); Muir (1981); Fortini Brown (1996); Matteo Casini, *I gesti del principe: la festa politica a Firenze e Venezia in età rinascimentale* (Venice: Marsilio, 1996), pp. 29-72; Fenlon (2007). Equally important, though concerning the paintings in the Doge's Palace, is Giorgio Tagliaferro, 'Il ciclo pittorico del Maggior Consiglio dopo l'incendio del 1577: Indagini e proposte per l'immagine di Stato a Venezia', unpublished doctoral dissertation (Università Ca' Foscari 2003-04).

¹⁹ See Raines (2006), pp. 199-208.

²⁰ On Valerius Maximus, see *ibid.*, p. 200, note 45.

– from that of the erudite Marco Antonio Sabellico (1436-1506) to the *Detti, e fatti de' Venetiani ad imitatione di Valerio Massimo* by the patrician Gianfrancesco Loredan (1606-61) – substantiated the civic identity of the patricians and provided an ethical model which Venetians eventually exploited for celebrative purposes.²¹

Besides biographies, another literary genre that significantly influenced the design of funerary monuments is the epic poem. Massimiliano Rossi has demonstrated that distinctive characteristics of epic poems are also evidenced in sculpture and architecture.²² The relationship between the two genres is particularly evident in colossal sculptures which celebrate military or civic triumphs. From the Renaissance onward, colossal statues honour notable citizens and also encourage the spectator to follow their actions in order to achieve the same glory and fame.²³ In Venice and in the Veneto, architects and sculptors also endeavoured to produce artworks which shared the same encomiastic purposes with contemporary epic literature. A case in point is the oeuvre of Danese Cataneo (1509-72), a poet, sculptor and architect, as well as the creator (together with Girolamo Campagna and Giovanni Grapiglia) of the funerary monument to Doge Leonardo Loredan. Many of his works show the influence of epic poetry on the design and iconography of sculpture or architecture. The design and iconography of a funerary monument erected in Sant'Anastasia in Verona (Fig. 1) evokes the heroism of Giano II Fregoso, former Doge of Genoa and commander of the Venetian republic. The polychrome marbles

²¹ For the analysis of these works, see *ibid.*, pp. 201-06.

²² Massimiliano Rossi, 'Ad imitazione de gli antichi secondo la strada ch'insegna Aristotile: Danese Cataneo e la scultura colossale alla metà del Cinquecento', in *Alessandro Vittoria e l'arte veneta della maniera*, ed. Lorenzo Finocchi Ghersi (Udine: Forum, 2001), pp. 97-117.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

and the architectural framework of this monument anticipate the monument to Doge Leonardo Loredan (Fig. 2). The way in which its classicising architecture evokes an epic poem by Danese Cataneo renders the Fregoso monument an excellent case study to introduce some of the main topics examined in this thesis, most notably the idea of empire.

The Fregoso monument (Fig. 1) displays four fluted Corinthian columns in the guise of a triumphal arch. At the centre, an aedicule resembling a tabernacle incorporates the statue of the Risen Christ projecting from a slab of Basanite with stunning chromatic contrast. On the left, a pedestal supports the statue of Giano II, who is dressed like a warrior from antiquity. On the pedestal on the right there is an allegory of *Military Virtue*. Two bas-reliefs above these statues represent *Armed Venice* bearing the ducal *cornio* and the banner of Saint Mark, and a *Victory* holding a laurel wreath and a palm branch. In the pendentives of the central arch, two angels hold the instruments of the Passion. Above the entablature, on either side are the statues of *Fame* and *Eternity*, while in the attic two putti sustaining a coat of arms surmount a pyramidal structure which is flanked by military trophies.²⁴

Rossi observed that in this monument Danese resorts to classicising architectural units to enhance the potency of a composition which is designed to give honour to the achievements of the deceased.²⁵ Whereas the triumphal arch and the bas-reliefs,

²⁴ On this monument, see Kathryn B. Hiesinger, 'The Fregoso Monument: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Tomb Monuments and Catholic Reform', *Burlington Magazine* 118/878 (1976), pp. 282-93; Massimiliano Rossi, *La poesia scolpita. Danese Cataneo nella Venezia del Cinquecento* (Lucca: Pacini Fazzi, 1995), pp. 104-12; Rossi (2001), pp. 110, 112, 115; Giovanna Baldissin Molli, 'Catalogo delle opere', in *Danese Cattaneo da Colonnata 1512-1572. Scultore Poeta Architetto* (Fosdinovo: Associazione Artistico Culturale Percorsi d'Arte, 2013, hereafter referred to as Baldissin Molli, 2013a), pp. 277-82.

²⁵ Rossi (2001), p. 115.

which were influenced by ephemeral apparatus design, pay tribute to Giano's deeds, the Eucharistic significance of the Resurrected Christ sets such exploits within the Christian-imperial tradition of the *miles christianus*: Giano's figure, in a commander's armour, evokes the image of Christian soldiers which populated epic poems, in line with an encomiastic tone which had already been exploited by Danese in his poems.²⁶

The literary counterpart of the Fregoso monument is the *Dell'amor di Marfisa*, an epic poem whose first thirteen cantos were published in 1562.²⁷ The poem narrates two interrelated events: the war of the Franks against Longobards in defence of the pope is conceived by Danese as being analogous to Charles V's victory over heresy. The vicissitudes of Marfisa, a female paladin of Charlemagne's who fell in love with a Frankish soldier, are also related.²⁸ Canto Ten describes a figurative representation of men intending to quarry a block of marble which would be destined for works perpetuating the memory of the victory of Christian soldiers from the Apuan Alps:

[...] I just think to hear the strong, industrious quarrymen who
With heavy and strong blows
Make offence to this or that mountain
To break and split them.

Your mountains are broken, and from long and big marbles are
taken out Christian statues, temples, arches and colossi

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 112, 115.

²⁷ *Dell'amor di Marfisa tredici Canti, del Danese Cataneo da Carrara* (Venetia: Francesco de Franceschi, 1562). On the poem, see Rossi (1995), pp. 85-104 and Rosa Maria Galleni Pellegrini, "“Ut sculptura poësis”: Danese Cattaneo “non meno ne lo scrivere che ne lo scolpire eccellente”", in *Danese Cattaneo da Colonnata* (2013), p. 320.

²⁸ Rossi (1995), pp. 88-89.

Which are erected with your perpetual glory.²⁹

Memory becomes indelible when victory enters the annals of history and is perpetuated in poems celebrating the glory of other heroes: an allusion to the triumph of Alberico I Cybo Malaspina (1534-1623), the marquis of Massa to whom the poem was dedicated:

I see the most respectable poets
Endeavouring to write another poem, and an illustrious history
Where your eulogies will stand out among those to other heroes and dukes.³⁰

Yet, in addition to the homage to Alberico, the reader of the *Marfisa* is indirectly encouraged to reflect upon the Fregoso Monument, which in the 1560s was under construction in Verona. Canto Ten evokes the patron of the monument while comparing his achievements to a Christian soldier.³¹ Once more, the celebrative model was that of Charles V; the celebration of the king's victory over heresy was thus merged with the imperialistic ideal of the *renovatio imperii*, thereby giving a contemporary setting to the events narrated in Danese's poem. The epic-chivalric ideal is therefore at the core of the Fregoso Monument and constitutes the

²⁹ *Dell'amor di Marfisa* (1562), X, 89-90: '[...] Già parmi udir che da i gagliardi, industri / di marmi cavatori, venga offeso / questo e quel monte tuo con gravi, e spessi / sonanti colpi, onde siano rotti e fessi. / Si fendono i tuoi monti, e lunghi, e grossi / marmi trattine fuori, a la vittoria / cristiana statue, templi, archi, e colossi / veggio innalzar con tua perpetua gloria', quoted by Rossi (1995), p. 116 and Galleni Pellegrini (2013), p. 321. Translation by Umberta Bertelloni.

³⁰ *Dell'amor di Marfisa*, X, 90: 'Veggio i più degni calami già mossi / a farne alto Poema, e chiara Historia / ove tra tali heroi, tra duci tali / saran l'alte tue lodi anco immortali', quoted in Rossi (1995), p. 116. Translation by Umberta Bertelloni.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

theoretical background of other monuments which were erected in Venice and the Veneto in the seventeenth century.

Thus, noble actions (*res gestae*) make history (*exempla*) and, immortalised in sculptures and in the annals, persuade the spectator to draw a moralising lesson and paradigm of conduct. Yet, once the ideal of virtuous action merges with the epic-chivalric *topos*, modes of expression in literature and architecture are also obliged to change. The expectation that the well-worn imperialistic myth could be revived in Venice gives the patricians fresh opportunities to celebrate themselves. Thus far we have seen that the achievements of the patricians overall prove to be a benefit for the community. Nonetheless, the simultaneous emergence of an imperialistic ideal intrudes upon the collective character of the heroic deeds which were carried out by patricians. Encouraged by the rhetoric of Christian victory over infidels, the individuality of the Venetian heroes can occasionally exceed the purview of common interests. Collective triumph becomes individual, and the celebration of Venice therefore becomes an opportunity for self-celebration.

Although the triumph of the individual in funerary monuments does not fully emerge before the mid-seventeenth century, the roots of this phenomenon can be traced back to the Middle Ages. At the University of Padua and the School of Rialto, patricians studied Aristotle's theories of statecraft and adapted them to the government of state affairs.³² Aristotelian teachings concerning the virtues of the soul influenced the development of Venetian ethics. The idea that moral virtues

³² Raines (2006), p. 190. For an extensive analysis of this topic, see pp. 187-98.

could affect the lives of patricians was processed in relation to scholarly debates on free will and the immortality of the soul. Made sceptical by humanistic debates, patricians discredited the scholarly notion of the soul's immortality. As a result of the tendency to put mankind at the centre of the universe, it was understood that man's thirst for glory could be quenched during life instead of after death. The patrician concept of glory, therefore, demands individual achievements guided by moral virtues in order to reach fame and success.³³ This novel interpretation of human virtue had a tremendous impact on the Venetian vision of politics. Allured by this view of civic life, patricians found an ethical-philosophical justification for their willpower.

In order to refrain from the potential danger of excessive self-celebration, Venetian humanists dogmatically insisted on the necessity of subordinating individual glory to public benefit. By the end of the Cinquecento, the post-Lepanto celebrative rhetoric aimed first and foremost to exalt the exploits of Venetian soldiers for their contribution to the whole community.³⁴ This celebrative model survived until the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the patricians were usually careful to avoid immoderate self-celebration, especially in funerary monuments. Besides the Fregoso Monument, another work by Danese Cataneo allows us to fully understand the concepts of celebration, memory and willpower specific to Venice: the Loredan monument in Santi Giovanni e Paolo.

³³ Ibid., pp. 193-94.

³⁴ On Lepanto, see the bibliography cited in Tagliaferro (2005), pp. 149-50, note 150.

2. The Funerary Monument to Doge Leonardo Loredan

The funerary monument to Doge Leonardo Loredan (Fig. 2) has had a controversial and complex history.³⁵ When Loredan died in 1521, his body was interred in Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.³⁶ In 1517, Lorenzo Loredan, the doge's son, had already gained permission to erect a monument in the presbytery.³⁷ The project was approved in 1536 but remained unexecuted until the 1560s, when Danese was finally recruited.³⁸ Vasari's journey to Venice in 1566 is the terminus *ante quem* for the submission of Danese's design.³⁹ By 1572, the statue representing *Venice* and the personifications of *Peace* and *Abundance* had already been completed, as described by Danese in his will.⁴⁰ However, work was still in progress after Danese's death, because documents dated to 1600 record that the Abbot of Vangadizza, Francesco Loredan, who was the doge's great-grandson, had left 2,000 ducats for the completion of the monument.⁴¹ In a letter dated 1604 to Francesco Maria II Della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, the sculptor Girolamo Campagna relates that the statue of

³⁵ On the extensive literature on the Loredan monument, see the following studies: Wladimir Timofiewitsch, *Girolamo Campagna. Studien zur Venezianischen Plastik um das Jahr 1600* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1972), pp. 278-81; id., 'Marginalien zum Grabmalskulptur des Danese Cattaneo', *Arte Veneta* 32 (1978), pp. 234-37; Wolfgang Wolters, *Der Bilderschmuck des Dogenpalastes. Untersuchungen zur Selbstdarstellung der Republik Venedig im 16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1983), pp. 211-12; Simane (1993), pp. 30-48; Rossi (1995), pp. 161-85; Sandro Sponza, 'Il mausoleo Loredan. Il restauro', *Arte Veneta* 55 (1999), pp. 192-99; Bacchi (2000), p. 722; Da Mosto (2003), pp. 222-24; Giovanna Baldissin Molli, 'Danese Cattaneo. Le opere nel territorio della Dominante', in *Danese Cattaneo da Colonnata* (2013, hereafter referred to as Baldissin Molli, 2013b), pp. 54-56; Paola Rossi, 'Sculptura e pittura nel secondo Cinquecento. Il manierismo e il tardomanierismo', in *La basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo Pantheon della Serenissima*, ed. Giuseppe Pavanetto (Venice: Marcianum Press, 2013), pp. 241 and 247-58.

³⁶ Venice, Archivio di Stato (hereafter cited as ASV), *Santi Giovanni e Paolo*, b. XI, cited by Simane (1993), p. 33.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Rossi (1995), p. 165.

³⁹ Simane (1993), p. 34.

⁴⁰ Padua, Archivio di Stato (hereafter cited as ASP), *Notarile, Notaio Andrea Talento, lib. 2 extens*, f. 597v, cited by Erice Rigoni, *L'arte rinascimentale in Padova. Studi e documenti* (Padua: Antenore, 1970), p. 223.

⁴¹ ASV, *Procuratori di San Marco De Supra, Commissarie*, pp. 278-81, cited by Simane (1993), p. 36.

the doge was still unfinished.⁴² However, the statue must have been added to the monument by 1616, when the timber merchant Martin Macarin made a plea to be buried near the doge's monument.⁴³

In the 1663 edition of Francesco Sansovino's *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare*, the monument is mentioned in a printed book for the first time, and the allegories of *Peace*, *Abundance*, *Venice* and the *League of Cambrai* are correctly attributed to Danese (Figs 3-5).⁴⁴ According to the Neoclassical architect Tomaso Temanza, Danese also executed the four bronze reliefs between the lateral intercolumniations (Figs 6-7).⁴⁵ Nonetheless, scholars debate whether the design of the monument is to be attributed to Danese or the architect Giovanni Grapiglia. It seems fairly clear that the initial project was Danese's, although it is difficult to assess Grapiglia's involvement due to our limited knowledge of this artist.⁴⁶

The architectural framework of the Loredan monument displays a triumphal arch form consisting of four Corinthian columns and an attic (Fig. 2). The contrasted interplay of black and white marbles emphasises the interaction between sculpture and architecture and enhances the plasticity of the sculptures. The statue of the doge occupies a central space which is delimited by two Corinthian columns and by the personifications of *Venice* on the left and the *League of Cambrai* on the right (Fig. 3).

⁴² Letter transcribed by Georg Gronau without a bibliographical reference for the original document. See Georg Gronau, 'Die Statue des Federigo di Montefeltro im herzoglichen Palast von Urbino', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 3: 5 (1930), p. 257, cited by Simane (1993), p. 36.

⁴³ ASV, *Santi Giovanni e Paolo*, b. XII, c. 265, cited by Simane (1993), p. 37. For this chronological reconstruction, see Simane (1993), pp. 33-38; Rossi (1995), pp. 164-68; Baldissin Molli (2013a), pp. 282-84.

⁴⁴ Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare. Con le aggiunte di Giustiniano Martinioni* (Venetia: Steffano Curti, 1663), p. 68.

⁴⁵ Rossi (1995), p. 168.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 164-68 and a Molli, (2013a), pp. 282-84.

Loredan is not sitting on a throne, but is instead in the act of rising to his feet, as if exhorting the two adjacent figures to fight. The allusion is to the war of the League of Cambrai, which was fought from 1508 to 1516 and which was notorious for the Venetian defeat at Agnadello in 1509 during Loredan's dogeship.⁴⁷ In the Loredan monument, the armed figure of Venice points towards the personification of the League of Cambrai, a female figure holding a shield with the coat of arms of the allied forces. The statue of the doge and the personifications of Venice and the League of Cambrai are set above a base resembling an urn which displays a slab of black marble showing the funerary epitaph in gilded characters (Fig. 3).⁴⁸ In the niches between the lateral intercolumniations, a female figure on the left holding a cornucopia in her hand represents *Abundance* (Fig. 4), while a female figure on the right burning weapons with a torch represents *Peace* (Fig. 5). Above and below the statues, four bronze reliefs display allegories referring to Loredan's dogate (Figs 6-7). The relief in the bottom left represent *Padua as a Muse* (Fig. 6b) and on top of it are the personifications of the Paduan rivers *Brenta and Bacchiglione*, a saint carrying a book and a palm, and a female figure, perhaps a personification of Padua, holding a model of a church in her hands (Fig. 6a).⁴⁹ Accordingly, the relief at the bottom right

⁴⁷ See Felix Gilbert, 'Venice in the Crisis of the League of Cambrai', in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. John. R. Hale (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), pp. 274-92.

⁴⁸ 'D.O.M. | LEONARDO LOREDANO PRINCIPI | TOTIUS FERE EUROPÆ VIRIUM CAMERACENSIS FOEDERE | IN REM VENETAM CONSPIRANTIVM FVRORE COMPRESSO | PATAVIO OBSIDIONE LEVATO, FORTVNIS, ET FILIVS PRO COMMVNI | SALVTE OBIECTIS, TERRESTRIS IMPERIIS POST ACERBISSIVM BELLV | PRISTINA AMPLITVDINE VINDICATA, DIGNITATE, ET PACE REIP. RESTITVTA, | EOQVE DIFFICILLIMO TEMPORE CONSERVATA, ET OPTIME GESTA, PIO, FORTI, ! PRVDENTI. LEONARDVS ABNEPOS P.C. VIXIT ANN. LXXXIII. | IN DVCATV XIX. OBIT M.D. XIX'.

⁴⁹ The iconography of the relief, a topic which deserves further scrutiny, has been studied by Massimiliano Rossi. According to Rossi, the saint and the female allegorical personification in the

represents *Venice Triumphant over the Imperials* (Fig. 7b), while at the top right the reclined female figure bearing a crown and holding a sceptre represents an allegory of *Venice as a Queen* (Fig. 7a).⁵⁰ Above the upper cornice, a bas-relief in the centre representing *Venice Receiving Homage from the Cities of the Venetian Dominion* (Fig. 8) is flanked by the doge's coat of arms.⁵¹ Finally, on the slopes of the pediment, two recumbent female figures without attributes have generally been ascribed to the workshop of Campagna.⁵²

The design of the Loredan monument brought substantial changes to the iconography of ducal tombs. The main innovative elements are the design which recalls a triumphal arch, together with the enthroned figure of the doge and a lack of reference to religious figures. The triumphal arch was one of the most suitable formats for extolling a grandee, either alive or deceased, or for commemorating a religious or civic event.⁵³ Indeed, Venetian architects had already executed funerary monuments whose structure resembles a triumphal arch: notable precedents are the funerary monuments to the doges Giovanni and Alvise I Mocenigo (Figs 9-10), both

relief are Saint Anthony and Justina of Padua. See Rossi (1995), pp. 174-75. This iconographical reading, which has been accepted by later scholarship, is, however, erroneous because the saint is carrying a tau and is holding a palm. By the same token, it is difficult to identify the female figure with Saint Justina because she is half naked. In absence of further documentation concerning the iconography of the relief, it appears more convincing to interpret the female figure as an allegorical personification, perhaps an allegory of the town of Padua, as suggested by the model of a church in her hands and by the personifications of the Paduan rivers on the left. I am thankful to Zuleika Murat for her stimulating suggestions about the iconography of the relief.

⁵⁰ Rossi (1995), pp. 174-75.

⁵¹ The bas-relief had previously been ascribed to the workshop of Campagna, and more recently to a late-Mannerist Greek sculptor. See Rossi (1995), p. 168, and Rossi (2013), p. 252.

⁵² Rossi (1995), p. 168.

⁵³ See Zdzisław Bieniecki, 'Quelques remarques sur la composition architecturale des arcs de triomphe à la Renaissance', in Jacquot and Königson (1975), vol. 3, p. 203. For funerary monuments adopting a triumphal arch form, see Werner Weisbach, *Trionfi* (Berlin: G. Grote, 1919).

of which were erected in Santi Giovanni e Paolo.⁵⁴ Although the design of these monuments might have influenced that of the Loredan monument, in the latter the importance of the triumphal arch goes beyond its architectural function, which must be carefully analysed in relation to the other architectural components. In fact, as in the monument to Giano Fregoso, Danese made use of a classical architectural format to enhance the monument's celebrative potency. Why, then, did triumphal arches become so important in ducal monuments, and what message do they convey?

The triumphal arch form is displayed in the architectural antecedents for the Loredan monument: the Loggetta in the Piazza San Marco (Fig. 11), Bartolomeo Ammanati's mausoleum for the humanist Marco Mantova Benavides in the Eremitani in Padua (Fig. 12) and the funerary monument to Doge Francesco Venier in San Salvador, Venice (Fig. 13).⁵⁵ The design of the Venier Monument was especially imitated by Danese in the Loredan monument, as evidenced by the statue of the doge which is flanked by allegories of *Charity* and *Hope* in the lateral niches, the coats of arms in the uppermost register and the bas-relief in the lunette.⁵⁶ Nonetheless, in spite of the architectural resemblance, the Venier Monument displays conventional elements such as religious personifications and the time-honoured iconography of sarcophagi with an effigy of the recumbent.⁵⁷

More relevant, then, is the comparison with papal tombs. In the funerary

⁵⁴ For the monument to Giovanni Mocenigo, see Anne Markham Schulz, 'Sculptura del secondo quattrocento e del primo cinquecento', in *La basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo* (2013), pp. 185-89. On Alvise I Mocenigo, see Rossi (2013), pp. 255-56.

⁵⁵ Rossi (1995), p. 173; Sponza (1999), pp. 192-95.

⁵⁶ See Sponza (1999), p. 195.

⁵⁷ Cf. Bruce Boucher, 'Sansovino's Venetian Tombs', in *The Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 118-23.

monument to Pope Clement VII in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome, the pope is sitting on a throne in the central niche in the act of giving a blessing (Fig. 14). In a manner that is compositionally similar to the Loredan monument, the central statue is flanked by male figures representing *Saint John the Evangelist* on the left, and *Saint John the Baptist* on the right. Above the entablature, the attic displays narrative reliefs and the pope's coat of arms. Other papal tombs display the blessing pope seated on a throne. In the monument to Pope Paul III (Fig. 15), the pope is enthroned and his elevated pose recall the image of a monarch. It has been observed that the pope's figure lifting his right hand was inspired by the Roman iconography of the *Adlocutio Augusti*.⁵⁸ Roman rhetoricians stressed the importance of the allocution (the opening of a speech) and gave advice on the posture one should adopt to emphasise the relevant points of the speech.⁵⁹ In the Renaissance, painters often depicted monarchs, captains or Roman emperors pointing their hand heavenward to underline the eloquence of a speech.⁶⁰ The eloquent pose of Pope Paul III (Fig. 15) inspired the iconography of captains in funerary monuments, such as Leone Leoni's statue of Vespasiano Gonzaga in Sabbioneta (Mantua, Fig. 16).⁶¹ Although the statue of Leonardo Loredan does not represent the conventional iconography of the *Adlocutio Augusti*, the doge's posture, with his arms slightly outstretched in the direction of the

⁵⁸ Elisabeth Oy-Marra, 'Aspetti della rappresentazione del "perfetto capitano" nell'arte italiana del quattro-cinquecento', in *Il "Perfetto Capitano". Immagini e realtà (secoli XV-XVII)*, ed. Marcello Fantoni (Rome: Bulzoni, 2001), p. 364. On the *Adlocutio Augusti*, see Erwin Panofsky, *Problems in Titian. Mostly Iconographic* (London: Phaidon Press, 1969), pp. 76-77.

⁵⁹ As pointed out by Maria Giovanna Sarti in a stimulating article delving into classical rhetoric and Venetian Renaissance paintings. See Maria Giovanna Sarti, *Muta predicatio: Il San Giovanni Battista di Tiziano, Venezia Cinquecento* 17 (1999), p. 17.

⁶⁰ Panofsky (1969), p. 77.

⁶¹ See Oy-Marra (2001), pp. 364-65.

personifications of Venice and the League of Cambrai, brings to mind his famous peroration to the Senate in 1509.⁶² In his speech, Loredan incited Venetian soldiers to pursue the war against their enemies, which resulted in the recapture of Padua, the most remarkable achievement under his rulership. Thus, the statue of Loredan evokes both eloquence and majesty. Similarly to papal tombs and the iconography of Roman commanders, the enthroned doge and the triumphal arch form underlined Venice's Roman lineage. Jan Simane has already analysed the iconographic analogies between ducal and papal tombs and argued that, almost paradoxically, Roman monuments provided Venice with a celebrative model which was apt to assert its power and independency over the Holy See.⁶³ The Roman triumphal arch as a derivation from the Arch of Constantine underlined that popes were on a par with emperors, and therefore benefitted from both spiritual and temporal powers which were equal in authority and majesty to the Roman Empire. So too did Venetian architects resort to triumphal arches to proclaim that the Republic was second neither to the papacy nor to the Florence of the Medici popes, but that it too carried the splendour and supremacy equal to that of Imperial Rome.⁶⁴

Papal tombs are, however, just one of the reference models for the Loredan monument. Another typology where the triumphal arch was widely adopted is the ephemeral apparatus, which certainly influenced the design of the Loredan monument. In fact, it has been noted that its bronze reliefs (Figs 6-7) recall the

⁶² Loredan's speech is recorded by the historian Marin Sanudo in his diaries. See Rossi (1995), p. 177.

⁶³ Simane (1993), pp. 22, 99-100, 143.

⁶⁴ Cf. *Baccio Bandinelli. Scultore e maestro (1493-1560)* (exhibition catalogue, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, 9 April – 13 July 2014), eds Detlef Heikamp and Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi (Florence: Giunti, 2014), p. 180 and Fortini Brown (1996), pp. 171-72.

monochromes which decorated the temporary triumphal arches erected in Venice after a military victory.⁶⁵ Notable examples are Andrea Palladio's triumphal arch, which was erected on the Lido during Henry III's visit to Venice in 1574, or the lateral elevation of the Loggia del Capitaniato in Vicenza.⁶⁶ The latter was modified by Palladio in 1571 to celebrate Venice's victory at Lepanto.⁶⁷

The allusion to temporary apparatuses is significant because it evokes a celebrative tradition which greatly influenced seventeenth-century funerary monuments.⁶⁸ However, in Venice, another ducal tomb had already enjoyed long-standing prestige as an "innovative" monument: that is, Pietro and Antonio Lombardo's cenotaph of Doge Pietro Mocenigo (Figs 17-18). Erected between 1476 and 1480 in Santi Giovanni e Paolo, this monument features the warrior-like statue of the doge standing on the sarcophagus. Mocenigo is wearing an armour underneath his ducal robes and originally held a banner in his right hand. It is worth noticing that statues of the deceased standing on their feet and wearing military uniform were traditional in monuments to *Capitani da mar*, the highest military grade of the Venetian maritime forces, and were quite unusual in ducal tombs.⁶⁹ Provocative as it was meant to be, the posture of the doge's figure was the most fitting one to pay

⁶⁵ Rossi (1995), p. 183; on temporary apparatuses in Venice in the seventeenth century, see Lina Padoan Urban, 'A proposito di "machine" e apparati effimeri tra Sei e Settecento a Venezia', *Arte Documento* 26 (2010), pp. 231-37.

⁶⁶ On the festivities which were laid on for Henry III in Venice, see Lina Padoan Urban, 'Apparati scenografici nelle feste veneziane cinquecentesche', *Arte Veneta* 23 (1969), pp. 145-55; Margaret McGowan, 'Festivals and the Arts in Henry III's Journey from Poland to France (1574)', in *Europa triumphans. Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, ed. J. R. Mulryne et al., vol. 1 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 122-29, esp. p. 125.

⁶⁷ Rossi (1995), p. 117.

⁶⁸ I shall return to temporary apparatuses in Chapters Two and Five.

⁶⁹ For the iconography of naval captains, see Matteo Casini, 'Immagini dei capitani generali «da Mar» a Venezia in età Barocca', in Fantoni (2001), pp. 219-70.

homage to a statesman who had spent much of his life fighting against the Turks as *Capitano da mar* and had significantly contributed to the expansion of the Venetian dominion on the East Mediterranean.⁷⁰ The idea of military victory is also even more emphasised by the three male figures – allegorical personifications of the *Three Ages*⁷¹ – who are carrying the sarcophagus: it is not only an allusion to the transport of the catafalque during processions, but also a device to foreground the doge's triumph over both his enemies and death. Standing on the sarcophagus and bearing the banner, the statue asserts the doge's immortality and assurance of resurrection, in line with the figure of the Risen Christ in the uppermost register.

Yet, in contrast to the Mocenigo cenotaph, what is exhibited in the Loredan monument is not the doge's victorious resurrection but his victory over enemies which was achieved in his lifetime (Fig. 3). To underscore the doge's prominent role in the battle, Campagna resorted to an "active" effigy of the living doge in the place of the more traditional recumbent effigy on the sarcophagus. As in the Mocenigo cenotaph, representing the living figure of the ruler enabled Campagna to exploit the full potential of such a pose, thereby evoking an idea of both majesty and command.⁷²

⁷⁰ For a biography of Mocenigo, see Da Mosto (2003), pp. 194-97.

⁷¹ Robert Munman clarified that it is possible to interpret these figures as three warriors represented in different stages of maturity from the youngest on the right to the oldest on the left. Each wears a cuirass, mail skirt and military cape, and each costume is modified to conform to the age of the wearer. See Munman (1968), pp. 110 and 120-21.

⁷² For the concept of the "active" effigy of the doge, see Simane (1993), pp. 99-101. See also Erwin Panofsky, 'Mors Vitae Testimonium. The Positive Aspect of Death in Renaissance and Baroque Iconography', in *Studien zur Toskanischen Kunst. Festschrift für Ludwig Heinrich Heydenreich zum 23. März 1963*, ed. Ludwig Heinrich Heydenreich et al. (München: Prestel Verlag, 1964, hereafter referred to as Panofsky, 1964a), pp. 221-36, and id., *Tomb Sculpture. Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964, hereafter referred to as Panofsky, 1964b), p. 94.

As I have already mentioned, a major characteristic of the Loredan monument is the almost complete absence of Christian imagery. The only reference to Loredan's devotion is limited to a single allusion in the funerary epitaph.⁷³ Even the bas-relief under the gable (Fig. 8), which in other monuments generally displays the statue of Christ or other religious figures, presents a political allegory. In this regard, the monument also differs from other ducal tombs with similar features. For instance, Antonio Rizzo's monument to Doge Nicolò Tron in the Frari Basilica (Fig. 19) is conspicuous for the standing figure of the doge. Nonetheless, the monument's tripartite structure links together the doge's figure at the bottom, the deceased doge at the centre and the Risen Christ in the uppermost register surmounted by the statue of God the Father, intimating Tron's triumph during life, his journey in the afterlife and his glory in heaven.⁷⁴ It is also noteworthy that sculptures of the Resurrected Christ or Man of Sorrows had a rather well-established tradition in Venetian funerary monuments, such as Pietro Lombardo's tombs of Doge Pasquale Malipiero (Fig. 20) and Doge Nicolò Marcello (Fig. 21), or the colossal monument to Alvise I Mocenigo (Fig. 10), all of which were erected in Santi Giovanni e Paolo.⁷⁵ Remarkably, these examples and many others feature statues or bas-reliefs with Christ, God the Father, or the doge kneeling before the Virgin and Child. This was a type of imagery which was encouraged by the Dominican devotion – though the same applies to similar

⁷³ '[...] LEONARDO LOREDANO PRINCIPI [...] PIO, FORTI, | PRUDENTI'.

⁷⁴ See Debra Pincus, 'The Tomb of Doge Nicolò Tron and Venetian Renaissance Ruler Imagery', in *Art the Ape of Nature. Studies in Honor of H. W. Janson*, eds Moshe Barasch and Lucy Freeman Sandler (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1981), p. 131.

⁷⁵ For Pietro Lombardo's monuments see Schulz (2013), pp. 146-40 and 150-57. On Alvise I Mocenigo see above, note 54 in this chapter.

monuments in the Franciscan Frari Basilica.⁷⁶

In contrast, the bas-relief in the attic in the Loredan monument does not underscore the doge's devotion, but rather the *results* of Loredan's good government *after* the recapture of the territories which had been lost in the war. This is enhanced by the monument's subdivision into two separate orders: the lower register which is focused on the historical present, that is, the live doge fighting the battle, and the uppermost register which is focused on the results of the event that are displayed below it. Loredan's military campaign causes Venice to win over its enemies and results in the wellbeing of the entire dominion, as is shown by the allegories of *Peace* and *Abundance* on the sides. It is therefore evident that the Loredan monument both celebrates Venice on account of its military feats and extols the doge as if he were an immortal leader. It is not a coincidence that the monument does not accommodate the doge's grave⁷⁷ while the Latin inscription in the funerary epitaph celebrates the prosperity in the Venetian dominion which emerged from Loredan's military campaign and the siege of Padua.⁷⁸

Similar content is expressed in Andrea Navagero's funerary oration to the doge, dated 1521.⁷⁹ It has been noticed that the oration extolls Loredan in keeping with

⁷⁶ For an overview of funerary monuments in the Frari basilica, see Angelo Maria Caccin, *The Basilica of S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice* (Venice: Sanipolo, 1964).

⁷⁷ In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Venice, the bodily remains of a deceased doge were generally buried in a grave next to the funerary monument or in a prominent area of the church, although this was not always the case. For a survey of the funerary monuments containing bodily remains, see Pavanello (2013).

⁷⁸ '[...] IN REM VENETAM CONSPIRANTIVM FVRORE COMPRESSO | PATAVIO OBSIDIONE LEVATO' and '[...] SALUTE OBIECTIS TERRESTRIS IMPERII POST ACERBISSIMVM BELLVM | PRISTINA AMPLITVDINE VINDICATA, DIGNITATE, ET PACE REIP. RESTITVTA'.

⁷⁹ *Andreae Nauagerii patritii Veneti oratoris et poetae clarissimi Opera Omnia* (Patavii, 1718). Excerpts from Navagero's oration are published in Lester J. Libby Jr., 'Venetian History and Political Thought after

the ideology of the myth of Venice, an ‘exemplum of the selfless kind of men’ produced by the Republic.⁸⁰ The subject of Navagero’s praise is not Loredan himself, but the city which had given him a chance to display his virtues.⁸¹ It is no surprise, then, that the author especially praises Venice’s undisputed liberty: it is in the interests of the doge to guarantee the protection of the dominion, which not only results in the liberty of Venice but also of the whole of Italy.⁸² The safeguarding of the common good is thus a question of life or death, and the doge has to fulfil this duty even at the cost of sacrificing his own life. Although Loredan did not die on the battlefield, the doctrine of *pro patria mori* is echoed by Navagero when he writes that the doge died filled with a sense of accomplishment and happiness.⁸³

In a similar way, the Loredan monument combines the celebration of the doge with that of a triumphant Venice. The prominence given to the doge allows him to stand out among the other figures and to highlight his visual link with the bas-relief which is displayed in the attic (Fig. 2), thereby enhancing his relationship with Venice. The figures of Loredan and Venice share a similar representation and a complementary significance in the unity of the composition. The princely image of the doge is accentuated by his slightly elevated position, his posture and by the splendour of the ducal robes (Fig. 3). Accordingly, a queenly Venice sitting on an elevated throne in the bas-relief bears a crown and holds a sceptre in her right hand

1509’, *Studies in the Renaissance* 20 (1973), pp. 7-45, esp. pp. 11-14.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 13.

⁸¹ Ibid., 11.

⁸² *Andreae Naugerii* (1718), p. 33: ‘De pulcherrima igitur hac Urbe praeclarissima hac Reipublica maximi imperii sede, libertatis domicilio, totius Italiae [...]’, cited in Libby (1973), p. 11, note 17.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 15.

(Fig. 8).

The regal status of both figures evokes an ideal of sovereignty which is manifested in the administration of the Venetian territories and grounded in Venice's perpetual freedom. It is no surprise, then, that the bas-relief in the attic (Fig. 8) displays the recapture of the lost towns of the dominion as an act of spontaneous capitulation under Venice's sovereignty. It is worth noting that a relief in the Mocenigo cenotaph (Fig. 18) was a model for the similar relief in the Loredan monument (Fig. 8). In the left panel decorating the sarcophagus (Fig. 18), a kneeling Turk is giving Mocenigo the keys of Skutari, a Venetian territory which was conquered by the then *Capitano da mar* in 1474. Accordingly, in the right panel the doge is delivering the keys of Famagusta to the queen of Cyprus, Caterina Cornaro.⁸⁴ An analogous message was constantly underlined by Venetian humanists, as evidenced in an anonymous late sixteenth-century manuscript concerning the dignity of the doge's magistracy.⁸⁵ In the text, Venice is exalted for her perpetual liberty which is comparable with that of monarchies or empires:

I say this because [Venice] has never been subjected to any other jurisdiction, nor has it ever recognised any other [state] as superior, and it has ruled its cities and provinces with freedom, as regards the

⁸⁴ A similar iconography was represented in paintings celebrating Venice's sovereign power. In an allegory depicted by Tintoretto on the ceiling of the Maggior Consiglio in the Doge's Palace (Fig. 22), the majestic figure of Doge Nicolò Da Ponte on the top of a colossal staircase is receiving the keys of the captured provinces during their voluntary submission under Venice's jurisdiction. In the sky, a queenly Venice receives a palm from the lion of Saint Mark while giving a laurel wreath to one of the other figures, probably to the doge. On this painting, see Wolters (1983), pp. 277-81.

⁸⁵ Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (hereafter cited as BMV), MS It. Cl. VII, 1233 (9600), *Discorso sulla grandezza del Doge di Venezia*, ff. 31r-39v.

temporal power, as indeed do kings and emperors in their realms.⁸⁶

It is therefore clear that the greatness of Venice is the result of its traditional autonomy, which is ultimately mirrored in the majesty of the doge:

From the above-mentioned considerations, it is clear that the greatness of Venice does not consist in words but in the substance of things. That is, in its original, ancient and perpetual liberty, in the number of its provinces, in the majesty of its realm, in the great authority and power, in its glorious victories over the infidels, and in other essential things. In this regard [Venice's princely dignity] goes beyond that of any other prince.⁸⁷

Accordingly, the Loredan monument is a vehicle for a similar message, and this excursion into Venice's traditional imagery provides evidence that Danese's monument was at the centre of an articulated iconographical network which was ultimately devoted to Venetian imperialistic propaganda.

This imperialistic message is complemented in the Loredan monument by the allegories in the bronze reliefs (Figs 6-7). In particular, in the relief at the bottom right (Fig. 7b), the female figure wearing a cuirass and holding a shield has been

⁸⁶ Ibid., fol. 31r: 'questo dico perché non ha mai obedito ad alcuno, ne recognosciuto alcuno per superiore, et ha liberamente fatto tutto quello gli è piaciuto nelle sue città, et provincie, quanto s'appartiene alla Signoria temporale, come fanno li regi, et l'imperatori nelli suoi regni, et stati temporali'.

⁸⁷ Ibid., fol. 37v: 'dalle suddette considerazioni si vede chiaramente che la grandezza della dignità ducale di Venetia non consiste nella parola ma nella sostanza delle cose. Cioè nella sua originale antigha et perpetua libertà, nel numero delle sue provincie. Nella maestà de suoi regni, nella grandissima auctorità, et potestà, nelle gloriose imprese fatte contra pagani, et altri essenziali, et reali aspetti. Et che in questa parte supera grandemente la dignità d'ogni altro principe'.

identified as an allegory of *Venice as Minerva* triumphing over the Imperials.⁸⁸ There is no doubt that it is an allusion to the siege of Padua in 1509, as is also evinced by the relief at the bottom left (Fig. 6b), which shows the personification of the recaptured town, surrounded by the symbols of the liberal arts, as a muse of the male figure bearing a book, perhaps a poet or a philosopher.⁸⁹ Thus, the monument establishes a visual link between the town as a symbol of Loredan's major exploits, Venice's military resistance and its triumph as a queen. This is recalled further in the bronze relief at the top right (Fig. 7a), displaying the reclining figure of a crowned Venice accompanied by the personification of a river. At the centre of the monument, the statue of the doge radiates the dignity of a prince, wisely ruling and perpetuating the memory of his actions to future generations.

3. The Legacy of the Loredan Monument: The Funerary Monument to Doge Marino Grimani

The theme of the state's preservation underwent further developments in successive funerary monuments. Loredan's deeds became a memorable model and other doges followed the example of their predecessor. Essentially, these monuments display a similar celebratory code and can therefore be classified as further examples of the same genre. In a few cases, however, the self-celebration of the ruler prevails. A case in point is the mausoleum of Doge Marino Grimani and his consort Morosina Morosini (Figs 23-26). Francesco Smeraldi probably devised the mausoleum, which was erected between 1598 and 1604 on the left wall of the nave of San Giuseppe di

⁸⁸ Rossi (1995), p. 174.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 174.

Castello, Venice, with the collaboration of Girolamo Campagna and Cesare Gropo.⁹⁰ It extols the coronation of the doge and the celebration of the dogaressa's oath of alliance to the Republic, an event which took place in the basilica of Saint Mark's the day before the consignment of the Golden Rose to the dogaressa, which is also represented in the mausoleum.⁹¹ Other monuments executed in the same period are no doubt more conventional. Among the most interesting is that to Doge Pasquale Cicogna in the church of Santa Maria Assunta, Venice.⁹² Although this monument carries a significance which is very close to that of the Loredan monument, the theme of the state's preservation undergoes a completely different development here. In addition, this monument displays architectural and sculptural units which are similar to those of the Grimani mausoleum. Yet the difference in the overall message of the two monuments suggests that the same theme could give rise to a range of different images according to the intentions of the patrons and the

⁹⁰ The monument was most likely devised by Smeraldi, an attribution first proposed by Wladimir Timofiewitsch. In the absence of further documentation regarding the commission of this monument, it is difficult to accept Roberta Pellegriti's attribution of the monument to Vincenzo Scamozzi. See Wladimir Timofiewitsch, 'Quellen und Forschungen zum Prunkgrab des Dogen Marino Grimani in S. Giuseppe di Castello zu Venedig', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 11/1 (1963), pp. 33-54, and Roberta Pellegriti, 'Il monumento del doge Marino Grimani a San Giuseppe di Castello, Venezia (1598-1604)', in *Vincenzo Scamozzi 1548-1616* (exhibition catalogue, Museo Palladio, Palazzo Barbaran da Porto, Vicenza, 7 September 2003 – 11 January 2004), eds Franco Barbieri and Guido Beltramini (Venice: Marsilio, 2003), pp. 384-85. On the Grimani monument, see also Timofiewitsch (1972), pp. 268-73, Simane (1993), pp. 107-22, and Da Mosto (2003), pp. 318-21.

⁹¹ The Golden Rose was a gold ornament which was conferred by the pope on princes, kings or other distinguished figures as a symbol of their virtue. The coronation of Morosina Morosini occurred on 4 May 1595, while the consignment of the Golden Rose took place the following day as described in primary sources. See Giovanni Rota, *Lettera nella quale si describe l'ingresso nel Palazzo Ducale della serenissima Morosina Morosini Grimani principessa di Venetia. Co' la cerimonia della Rosa benedetta, mandatale a donare dalla Santità di Nostro Signore* (Venetia: Giovanni Antonio Rampazetto, 1597), unnumbered pages. See also Simane (1993), p. 118. For the Golden Rose in the papal ceremonial, see Elisabeth Cornides-Garms, *Rose und Schwert im Päpstlichen Zeremoniell von den Anfängen bis zum Pontifikat Gregors XIII* (Vienna: Geyer, 1967), esp. pp. 45-54, 119, who surprisingly omitted to mention the year of the conferral of the Golden Rose on the dogaressa.

⁹² For further analysis of the Cicogna monument, see below Section 4 in this chapter.

design of the monument.

Overall, the design of the mausoleum of Doge Marino Grimani recalls the Loredan monument. As in Santi Giovanni e Paolo, the Grimani mausoleum (Fig. 23) features a triumphal arch form which is surmounted by statues and a relief in the attic. The four composite columns of variegated marble set on a high base divide the monument into three compartments. The two bas-reliefs on the plinths of the columns at both ends represent the personifications of the towns of Padua on the left, and Brescia on the right.⁹³ The other two bas-reliefs on the plinths of the central columns depict the emblem of the doge: a rampant lion holding a cross in its paws and a motto reading *Sidera cordis* (stars of the heart). Between the two columns on the left, the recumbent statue of the doge appears above a sarcophagus set in front of a niche which displays a mosaic depicting a putto against the golden background. The entablature on which the sarcophagus rests is sustained by two caryatids flanking a bronze relief which depicts the *Coronation of Doge Marino Grimani* (Fig. 24). The same architectural structure is repeated on the right side of the monument, which displays the recumbent effigy of the dogaressa and a bronze relief representing *Morosina Morosini Swearing the Oath of Allegiance* (Fig. 25).⁹⁴ The monument incorporates the

⁹³ As first noted by Simane (1993), p. 109. Padua and Brescia were the Venetian territories where Grimani had served as *Riformatore allo studio di Padova* and *podestà*.

⁹⁴ To my knowledge, scholarly literature on the Grimani monument has misinterpreted the event depicted on the bronze relief as depicting the conferral of the Golden Rose on Morosina Morosini. See for example Pompeo Molmenti, *La dogaressa di Venezia* (Turin: Roux e Favale, 1884), p. 305: 'Il bassorilievo di bronzo sotto l'urna dela Dogaressa rappresenta il vescovo d'Amelia, che in San Marco offre a Morosina la Rosa benedetta', and especially Simane (1993), pp. 117-18. As Giovanni Stringa explained, the ceremony of the conferral of the Golden Rose was performed in Saint Marks's by the papal legate and Paolo Ciera, the *segretario ducale* who read the papal brief which ratified the consignment of the Golden Rose. Accordingly, the relief in the Grimani monument displays the papal legate standing in front of the high altar – the *Pala d'Oro* is clearly recognizable on the background – alongside a multitude of male and female figures which match Stringa's description of the ceremony,

north lateral portal of the church surmounted by a curvilinear pediment with a keystone head at the centre.⁹⁵ Above the portal, two winged female figures support a plaque displaying the epitaph.⁹⁶ In the upper register above the entablature of the Corinthian columns, four female figures represent the *Cardinal Virtues*. These statues are set against the four pilasters which divide the attic into three parts. The bas-relief at the centre of the attic (Fig. 26) displays a devotional scene with the Virgin and Child seated at the centre accompanied by the doge on the left and his wife on the right, each presented by a putto holding a laurel wreath. The two bas-reliefs on the sides display the coats of arms of the Grimani and the Grimani-Morosini families. The pediment above the central part of the attic is surmounted by the

among which is also Claudio Corotta, the *Cameriere segreto del papa*, who is attending the mass on the right of the altar. Nonetheless, in the relief the Golden Rose appears on the altar and the dogaressa is swearing an oath with her hand on a book which is held by a male figure, most probably the doge. This detail, which is not mentioned by Stringa, is Morosina making her oath of allegiance, which according to the sources was held in Saint Mark's on 4 May 1597. In my view, the book shown in the relief is not in fact the papal brief but rather a *promissione ducale*, that is, the document which ratified the dogaressa's oath. Furthermore, Morosina is placing her right hand on the book as a declaration of her loyalty. Therefore, the relief combines two different episodes – the dogaressa's oath and the consignment of the Golden Rose – in the same depiction. This was noted by Giustiniano Martinioni, who in 1663 observed that the relief represents the two crucial events of Morosina's life: '[...] quadro di sotto di bronzo, che dimostra la sua [Morosina's] Coronatione in Dogaressa [that is, her oath], et la Presentatione della Rosa benedetta'. See Rota (1597), p. C r-v; Giovanni Stringa, *Venetia città nobilissima, et singolare. Descritta già in XIII. Libri da m. Francesco Sansovino* (Venetia: Altobello Salicato, 1604), pp. 286v-90r, esp. 288r-v; Sansovino (1663), p. 74. I wish to thank Louise Bourdua and Andrew Hopkins for pointing the detail of Morosina's oath to my attention.

⁹⁵ Jan Białostoki argued that in the Baroque period a great number of funerary monuments were situated above doors or included doors in their compositions. See Jan Białostoki, 'The Door of Death. Survival of a Classical Motif in Sepulchral Art', *Jahrbuch der hamburgischen Kunstsammlungen* 18 (1973), pp. 7-32. It is worthwhile noticing that the Grimani mausoleum is the first seventeenth-century ducal monument incorporating a portal. This detail will become a distinctive feature in monuments executed in the same period, including that to Doge Giovanni Pesaro in the Frari basilica and the Valier mausoleum in Santi Giovanni e Paolo.

⁹⁶ 'D.O.M. | MARINO GRIMANO | PRINCIPI | OPT. FAELICISS. | PRAETURIS PRAEFECTURIS | LEGATINIBUS | SUMMIS QUIBUSQ. IN REP. MUNERIBUS EGREGIE PERFUNCTO | QUI ANNONAM ADLEVAVIT, AERARIUM AUCTIONAVIT | URBEM EXORNAVIT | AB IPSAQ. NOXIA AVERTIT FLUMINA | PALAM OPPIDUM EXTRUXIT | AD CHRISTIANI ORBIS SECURITATEM | MOTAM GALLIAM CISALPINAM | COMPRESSIT | SALUTARE REIP. EAEDUS OPPORTUNE IECIT ! PACEM ITALIAE SUA VIVISSIMAM | CONFIRMAVIT PROTULIT ! PIUS PRUDENS | OBIIT ANN. MDCV | VIXIT ANN. LXXIII. M.VI. D.XXV | EX HIS X. IMERABUNDUS'.

personifications of the *Theological Virtues*. From the centre of the pediment, a lion's paw made of bronze projects outward, holding a gilded sphere which supports the figure of Saint Mark encircled by an oval frame with a ducal banner on top. This is an emblem of ducal dignity, the *pomolo ducale*, which was originally exhibited together with other ducal insignia in official ceremonies.⁹⁷ In his will Marino Grimani left the *pomolo ducale* to the church of San Giuseppe di Castello and requested that it be displayed on his funerary monument.⁹⁸

In contrast to the Loredan monument, in the Grimani mausoleum Campagna abandoned the statue of the enthroned doge and opted for sarcophagi with recumbent effigies. Nonetheless, it is evident that the design of the Grimani mausoleum mirrors the one in Santi Giovanni e Paolo and expands its magniloquent aspect through the colossal dimensions of the whole complex. It is, however, important to note that the statues of Grimani and the dogaressa are no less functional in “activating” the effigy of the deceased and in expressing an ideal of majesty. This was a solution Campagna was equally experimenting with around the same time in his monument to Doge Pasquale Cicogna, which was inspired by sixteenth-century tombs of cardinals which displayed sarcophagi with recumbent effigies.⁹⁹ Equally important are also architectural motifs which were perhaps influenced by festival imagery, such as the design recalling the triumphal arch and the

⁹⁷ On the *pomolo ducale*, see Pertusi (1965), pp. 88-91; Simane (1993), pp. 119-20; Da Mosto (2003), p. 319.

⁹⁸ Simane (1993), p. 120.

⁹⁹ For example the tomb monument of Bishop Jacopo Pesaro in the Frari basilica, as noted by Simane (1993), pp. 100 and 121. For the Cicogna monument, see Section 4 later in this chapter.

bronze reliefs.¹⁰⁰ Yet, despite the influence of ephemeral apparatus designs, the significance of the Grimani mausoleum lies elsewhere. As suggested by Simane, this monument displays a quasi-absolutist celebration of ducal sovereignty, almost recalling a notion of absolutism which had been developed in contemporary monarchies.¹⁰¹ In this regard, the Grimani mausoleum represents a fundamental step in the evolution towards self-celebratory funerary monuments as they were to take shape in the second half of the seventeenth century.

The element of major interest is the bas-relief displaying the Grimani spouses kneeling before the Virgin (Fig. 26). Simane observes that the kneeling figures overlook the Virgin while turning their torsos towards the beholder in a three-quarter profile.¹⁰² Although such a format was quite rare in sculpture, it had previously been used in a set of commemorative paintings of doges which were executed in the Doge's Palace by various painters including Tintoretto and Jacopo Palma Giovane between 1580 and 1615.¹⁰³ Some of these paintings (Figs 27-28) show portraits of the doges kneeling before Christ, although they are turned towards the onlooker instead of the adoring deity, as would have been the case in a conventional devotional image. The combination of state portraits with the Eucharistic significance of Christ's figure responds to an ideal of sovereignty which was entrenched in Venetian political thought: despite the substantial limits to his power,

¹⁰⁰ Simane recalls the triumphal arch which was erected in the Piazzetta for the coronation of the dogaressa in 1597. See Simane (1993), pp. 112-13.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 118.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 113.

¹⁰³ Ibid. For these paintings, see Staale Sinding-Larsen, 'Christ in the Council Hall: Studies in the Religious Iconography of the Venetian Republic', *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 5 (1974), pp. 24-42 and 246-53; Wolters (1983), pp. 92-135.

the doge becomes – at least, figuratively – the depository of divine wisdom and restores an idea of Christian empire which finds its legitimacy in the imitation of Christ's sacrifice.¹⁰⁴

The programmatic significance of the bas-relief in the Grimani monument can be clarified if it is interpreted as a culmination of the celebration of the doge's dignity as shown in the bronze reliefs in the lower register (Figs 24-25). The bronze relief featuring the coronation of the doge (Fig. 24) is the most striking representation of sovereign power in an early seventeenth-century funerary monument. The composition presents the doge at the centre, kneeling on a cushion and turning to Christ on the right. Captured by the mystic apparition of Christ is also Saint Mark, represented in the act of crowning Grimani, while on the right an angel is giving the doge a branch of palm. The iconography recalls the images which celebrated the sacrality of the doge's magistracy, such as Palma's commemorative paintings of Doge Pasquale Cicogna (c. 1595, Fig. 29) and Doge Marcantonio Memmo (1615, Fig. 28) in the Doge's Palace. In addition, Simane noticed that the bas-relief also recalls the representations of the doge's investiture, which Campagna could have seen on coins, medals or illuminated manuscripts (Figs 30-31).¹⁰⁵ Images such as these evoke the

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Sinding-Larsen (1974), pp. 43-44 and 245-53, and Wolters (1983), pp. 133-35. I have already proposed this interpretation in a forthcoming article on Palma's commemorative paintings of doges at the Doge's Palace. See Stefano Colombo, 'Portraits of Sovereignty: Jacopo Palma Giovane and the Doges' Commemorative Cycle in the Doge's Palace, Venice', (*Artibus et Historiae*, forthcoming 2017).

¹⁰⁵ Simane (1993), p. 115. On representations of the investiture of the doges in illuminated manuscripts, see Helena Katalin Szépe, 'Civic and Artistic Identity in Illuminated Venetian Documents', *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts* 95 (2001), pp. 59-78, esp. 65-66, 71; id., 'Distinguished Among Equals: Repetition and Innovation in Venetian *commissioni*?', in *Manuscripts in Transition. Recycling Manuscripts, Texts and Images. Proceeding of the International Congress held in Brussels (5-9 November 2002)*, eds Brigitte Dekeyzer and Jan Van der Stock (Paris: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2005), pp. 441-47.

doge's divine election and underline Saint Mark's role as an intermediary between the Venetian ruler and Christ in granting the doge the symbols of power, traditionally the banner.¹⁰⁶ The representations of the doge's investiture – and the motto accompanying them, 'Dei gratia dux Venetiarum' – are nonetheless reminiscent of "votive" images expressing gratitude to God's mercy for blessings received.¹⁰⁷ Because the doge is a lay ruler and not an absolute sovereign, he is subject to God's will. For this reason, depictions of the doge's investiture (Fig. 31) represent the doge kneeling before Saint Mark, from whom he receives the ducal banner.¹⁰⁸

The iconography of the bronze relief in the Grimani mausoleum (Fig. 24) assimilates the doge's subjection to Saint Mark to a quasi-religious celebration of absolutist power as seen in the political iconography of contemporary monarchies. Historians have demonstrated how the Venetian Republic adopted an absolutist concept of sovereignty, adjusting it to a traditional notion of republic and transforming it into political imagery.¹⁰⁹ As explained by Ernst Kantorowicz in his definition of the king's two bodies, the medieval concept of *corpus mysticum* acquired new political implications when early modern European states saw the emergence of

¹⁰⁶ Essential on this topic are Gina Fasoli, 'Nascita di un mito', in *Studi storici in onore di Gioacchino Volpe per il suo 80° compleanno*, ed. Gioacchino Volpe (Florence: Sansoni, 1958), pp. 447-79; Pertusi (1965), pp. 3-123, in particular 72-74; Gina Fasoli, 'Liturgia e cerimoniale ducale', in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, ed. Agostino Pertusi (Florence: Olschki, 1973), pp. 261-95; Sinding-Larsen (1974), pp. 159-66; Muir (1981), pp. 251-89; Wolters (1983), pp. 87-91; Alberto Tenenti, *Il potere dogale come rappresentazione*, in *Stato: Un'idea, una logica. Dal Comune italiano all'assolutismo francese* (Bologna: il mulino, 1987), pp. 193-216; Casini (1996), pp. 29-34; Szépe (2001), p. 65.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Szépe (2001), p. 66.

¹⁰⁸ Commenting on images of the doge's investiture, Pincus observes that "The Byzantine Image of sacral power merges with the Western concept of feudal obeisance, as used early and prominently in the sphere of the papal iconography". See Debra Pincus, 'Venice and the Two Romes: Byzantium and Rome as a Double Heritage in Venetian Cultural Politics' *Artibus et historiae* 26/13 (1992), p. 104. See also Fasoli (1958), pp. 458-59; Pertusi (1965), pp. 72-74; Fasoli (1973), pp. 265-67; Sinding-Larsen (1974), pp. 164-65; Casini (1996), p. 30.

¹⁰⁹ See Tenenti (1987), pp. 193-216 and Casini (1996), pp. 29-72, especially pp. 52-53.

an ideology of power which was based on theological grounds.¹¹⁰ The medieval concept of the *corpus Ecclesiae mysticum* was taken as a model in early modern monarchies where the king represented the head of the *corpus mysticum* of the state.¹¹¹ This ideal also influenced Venetian political thought, although in a more nuanced way: despite the objective limits to his power, the doge metaphorically incorporated the essence of Venice's sovereignty and became the head of the *corpus rei publicae mysticum*, that is, the mystical body of the state. In particular, the symbols of his power raised his dignity from the *primus inter pares* to the rank of a *princeps*. This is particularly evident not only in the ducal *corno*, but also in the ostentation of the *camauro*, which recalls the anointment of Israel's kings with holy oil.¹¹²

Accordingly, the bronze bas-relief in the Grimani mausoleum (Fig. 24) displays the doge's coronation as a mystic event in which Grimani receives both Christ's blessing and the investiture as a sovereign ruler. Not coincidentally, Saint Mark exhibits the *corno ducale* while looking at Christ before putting the crown on the doge's head, thereby signalling his divine authorisation.¹¹³ Thus, the relief is more

¹¹⁰ Ernst Hans Kantorowicz, *The King's two bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997, first published 1957), pp. 193-232.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Cf. Pertusi (1965), pp. 86-87; Michelangelo Muraro, 'Ideologia e iconografia dei dogi di Venezia', in *Recueil de travaux. Le prince Lazar* (Beograd, 1975), p. 426-27, 430; Muir (1981), pp. 251-89; Wolters (1983), p. 103; Gaetano Cozzi, 'Venezia, una repubblica di principi?', *Studi Veneziani* 11 (1986), pp. 139-57, esp. p. 154; Casini (1996), p. 55; Tagliaferro (2003-04), pp. 248-50. Among the most important primary sources are Francesco Sansovino's remarks on the sacrality of the doge's *corno* and *camauro*. See Sansovino (1663), pp. 470-71.

¹¹³ For Saint Mark's role as an intermediary, see Sinding-Larsen (1974), p. 95. Casini (1996), p. 44 interprets the ceremony of investiture of Grimani and the dogaressa in the lagoon facing the Doge's Palace as an attempt to legitimise the direct contact between the Grimani and the Evangelist, the representative of divine will. It is also interesting to note that the posture of Saint Mark deliberately recalls that of the *ballottino*, the boy in charge of picking up ballots from the urn during the ducal elections, as depicted in a number of canvases in the Sala del Collegio and Sala del Maggior Consiglio in the Doge's Palace.

than a conventional image representing the doge's coronation, visually conveying the spiritual essence of the ducal election. It is no surprise, then, that the event takes place in an imaginary setting and the figures sculpted on the left, probably Venetian senators, disregard the doge's coronation, as they are incapable of noticing the epiphany on the right.¹¹⁴

Therefore, the Grimani mausoleum carries a celebrative message which is very different from that of the Loredan monument. The allusions to Grimani's career before his election to the dogate – as alluded to by the personifications of Padua and Brescia sculpted on the plinths at the lower bottom – are here the premises not for the celebration of Venice as the homeland of good government, but for Grimani's self-celebration as a good ruler. The doge's achievements and personal virtues are then further justified through the authority of divine grace as truly responsible for Grimani's ascent to power. This is underscored in the Latin inscriptions on a slab of marble below the bronze reliefs (Figs 24-25): they state that eternal memory ('*memoria sempiterna*') and public happiness ('*hilaritas publica*') result from the doge's virtues ('*principatus virtute parti*') as recognised through Grimani's election to the dogate and the consignment of the Golden Rose to his wife.¹¹⁵ As observed by Simane, the Latin word '*diadema*' (diadem) alludes to the coronation of both the doge and the dogaressa, as well as the donation of the Golden Rose.¹¹⁶ In addition, the term '*hilaritas*' suggests that as rulers, the Grimani spouses had granted Venice a

¹¹⁴ Cf. Simane (1993), p. 114.

¹¹⁵ The Latin inscriptions read '*PRINCIPATUS VIRTUTE PARTI MEMORIA SEMPITERNA*' on the left and '*DIADEMATIS IMPOSITI HILARITAS PUBLICA*' on the right.

¹¹⁶ Simane (1993), p. 118. For the coronation of the doge's wife, see Casini (1996), pp. 41-46.

period of fruitful prosperity: a clear allusion to the *Hilaritas Populi Romani*, the rejoicing of the Roman people whose personification traditionally appeared on Roman coins and which carried ceremonial and religious overtones, ‘with emphasis turned to prosperity, well-being, and public gladness of a kind related to the coming of spring’.¹¹⁷

4. Continuity and Innovation after the Loredan Monument: The Funerary Monuments to the Doges Pasquale Cicogna and Marcantonio Memmo

The Grimani mausoleum undoubtedly provides a very interesting example which helps us to assess the way in which the doge’s accomplishments could be exploited for self-celebratory reasons. At around the same time Campagna was working on another funerary monument which displays architectural elements that are similar to the Grimani mausoleum, yet with a completely different intent; the sepulchral monument to Doge Pasquale Cicogna (Fig. 32).

As Andrea Da Mosto has pointed out, the first written evidence of a monument in honour of Cicogna is in the doge’s will, dated 1594, in which Cicogna entrusted his executors to erect a wall-hung tomb in the church of the Crociferi (now Santa Maria Assunta dei Gesuiti, Venice).¹¹⁸ The doge did not leave any instruction for the tomb’s design and exhorted the executors to build a modest monument, for he himself was not interested in mundane ambitions. It seems that Cicogna’s major

¹¹⁷ Pincus (1981), pp. 140-41.

¹¹⁸ ASV, *Notarile, Testamenti*, b. 1192 n. 527, 29 maggio 1594, cited by Da Mosto (2003), p. 310. As Allison Sherman explains, ‘the church of Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi was acquired by the Jesuits after the suppression of the Crociferi in 1656, and demolished in 1718 to make way for their new church’, Santa Maria Assunta dei Gesuiti. See Allison M. Sherman, ‘The Lost Venetian Church of Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi: Form, Decoration, and Patronage’, Ph.D. thesis (University of St Andrews 2010), p. 1.

interest was to be buried in the church where he had received the news of his forthcoming election as doge.¹¹⁹ It is likely that the programme was completed in 1595 after Cicogna's death, although works were still in progress between 1600 and 1603, as related by the canonical Giovanni Stringa in his additions to Sansovino's *Venetia*.¹²⁰ In 1663, Giustiniano Martinioni described the monument in the third and comprehensive edition of Sansovino's guidebook.¹²¹ The design and the sculptures of the monument have been ascribed to Girolamo Campagna by Martinioni.¹²² An inventory of the objects in the church of the Gesuiti actually mentions that the design is by Campagna.¹²³

The Cicogna monument shows the traditional tripartite structure of a triumphant arch – although on a more modest scale compared to the monuments to Leonardo Loredan and Marino Grimani – formed by four encased composite columns of grey variegated marble set above pedestals as high as the portal in the centre which leads to the sacristy. The sarcophagus with the doge's recumbent effigy is represented at the centre of the monument above a gilded memorial plaque with the funerary epitaph.¹²⁴ The lateral intercolumniations present military trophies which are

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 310.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 311.

¹²¹ Sansovino (1663), p. 171.

¹²² Sansovino (1663), pp. 171-72; Timofiewitsch (1972), pp. 26, 267-68; Simane (1993), p. 97; Sherman (2010), pp. 132-34, 271.

¹²³ Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr (hereafter cited as BCV), MS Cicogna 3242/7, *Chiesa di San Marco*, unnumbered folios: 'Deposito al doge Pasquale Cicogna – disegno di Girolamo Campagna'.

¹²⁴ 'PASCHALIS CICONIAE | VENETIARUM PRINCIPIS, MEMORIAE SEMPITERNAE | QUI, POST REMP. DOMI FORIS E DIGNITATAE SAEPIUS ADMI | NISTRATAM, POST CRETENSEM INSULAM CUI PER DECENNI | UN SUMMO CUM IMPERIO PRAEFUIT, IN NAVALI AD ECHINA | DAS ORAELIO INCOLUMEM RISERVATAM, QUA CAUSA CYDO | NES ILLI STATUAM IN FORO E. C. PATRIAE SUAE TANDEM | PRINCEPS, MIRA OMNIUM CONSENSIONE CREATUS, EAM | PARITER PER DECENNIIUM, TANTA ASSIDUITATE ET DILIGENTIA, GUBERNABIT, UT, DE EIUS COMMODIS ATQ. UTILI |

surmounted by lion masks. Above and below the military trophies are plaques with Latin inscriptions alluding to Cicogna's achievements. Above the pediment is the doge's coat of arms, crowned by a *cornio ducale*.¹²⁵

In celebrating the doge, emphasis is laid on his resemblance to a biblical hero. The monument, however, features references to the good government of Venice as a result of the doge's *cursus honorum* in the towns of the dominion, although in a novel and more nuanced way. In fact the doge is equated here with figures of the Old Testament, and his achievements before the election to the dogate are celebrated in order to increase his prestige and status. Essentially, the monument gives praise to Cicogna as a ruler who was blessed by God and who was capable both of restoring wealth and prosperity in the mainland and of defeating the Turks in the Venetian territory of Candia (Crete). This message is stressed in the two Latin epigraphs which are arranged above and below the military trophies. In particular, the inscription at the top left, which reads 'Like another Simeon he took the child Jesus up in his hands',¹²⁶ likens the doge to Simeon, a figure who is described in Saint Luke's Gospel as a just, pious man blessed by the Holy Spirit. By comparing the doge to a biblical figure, the sepulchral monument thus asserts the divine origins of the doge's

TATIBUS, NON PRIUS FINEM FECERIT QUAM ANIMAM | EFFLAVERIT ET AD
SUPEROS CUM DIU AETERNITATI SUAE | INTERFUISSET, NON SINE OPINIONE
SANCTITATIS, EVOLAVIT | OBIIT D. II APRILIS MDXCV AETATIS SUAE ANNO LXXXV
| MENS. X DIES XXV | PASCHALIS COCOGNIA EX FRATRE NEPOS MAESTISS. P.C.?

¹²⁵ The overall design of the monument recalls the mausoleum of Doge Andrea Gritti c. 1569-75 in San Francesco della Vigna (Fig. 33) as mentioned by Simane (1993), p. 105. Cf. Andrew Morrogh, 'The Gritti Monuments in San Francesco della Vigna, Venice. The Case for Palladio's Authorship', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69: 2 (2010), pp. 206-33.

¹²⁶ 'VELUT ALTER SYMEON MANUBIS CHRISTUM EXCEPIT'.

election.¹²⁷ As Simeon lifted the Messiah upon recognition, so too did Cicogna lift the holy wafer, the essence of Christ's flesh, in Crete. Allusion is made here to an event which occurred during Cicogna's life before his election as doge. In his oration in honour of Cicogna in 1587, the ambassador of Padua Ottonello Descalzo narrates that during mass in the Venetian territory of Corfu, a holy wafer, which had been blown by the wind from the priest's hands, was caught by Cicogna: a quasi-miracle that prefigured his dogate.¹²⁸ The reference is significant as it intimates that the appointment of Cicogna as a ruler took place through an act of divine grace, thus restoring the biblical tradition of God's chosen sovereigns whose origins can be traced back as far as to the stories of David and Saul.¹²⁹ This biblical exegesis is further substantiated in the second epigraph which is displayed at the top right of the monument: 'And like another David during the war in Crete'.¹³⁰ The characterization of Cicogna as a new David extols the doge as a ruler anointed by God whose commitment in protecting Venice is implied in the semi-religious glorification of Venice as the new Jerusalem. As God's anointed, David makes Jerusalem a new

¹²⁷ The association is based on Luke 2:25–29: just as Saint Luke describes Simeon as a man who, the Holy Spirit being upon him, took the infant Jesus up in his arms to do for him after the custom of the law, so too does Cicogna receive the body of Christ in his hands – rendered in Latin as 'manibus Christum excepit' – through its transubstantiation in the host.

¹²⁸ *Oratione dell'illustre cavaliere et eccellentissimo signor Ottonello Descalzo, ambasciator di Padova*, in Agostino Michele, *Scelta delle orationi fatte nella creatione del serenissimo prencipe di Vinegia Pasqual Cicogna. Alle virtù immortali di sua serenità da Agostino Michele in segno della sua infinita divotione consacrata* (Venetia: Giovanni Antonio Rampazetto, 1587), p. E2: 'Di questa vostra innocenza nel governo di Candia tanto Iddio si conpiacque, che per lei augurato innanzi il tempo vi fu il prencipato, mentre sacrificandosi, spirando un'aura celeste si levò nell'aria l'Hostia santissima dell'altare, ed ogn'uno intento per divotione, et per debito à ritenerla, acciò in terra non cadesse, ecco che stendendo Vostra Serenità il suo ricco manto quasi presago della presente felicità nel grembo suo innocentissimo, che quel suo nascimento d'innocente, et saggia Vergine si conpiacque si degnò riposare'. See also Sansovino (1663), p. 171; Da Mosto (2003), p. 306; Simane (1993), pp. 102-03; Sherman (2010), p. 132.

¹²⁹ For the Venetians as elected people, see Fenlon (2007), pp. 153-91, 275, 293-311.

¹³⁰ 'EX VELUT ALTER DAVID CRETAE IN BELLO'.

capital and receives from Him the promise of an eternal dynasty.¹³¹

While the message of the epigraphs focuses on the allegorical celebration of the doge's predestination, the Latin inscriptions below the military trophies underscore Cicogna's good government in the dominion: 'He coped with the plague in Padua' and 'And suddenly the famine engulfed the mainland'.¹³² The inscription evokes Cicogna's commitment in facing the ordeals of the plague and the famine which afflicted the mainland when he was the *podestà* of Padua, and simultaneously complements the message of the Latin inscriptions which are displayed above the military trophies. Taken as a whole, therefore, the four epigraphs underline the dual essence of Cicogna's dogate, that is to say, his civic achievements and the sacrality of his ducal magistracy, and complete the message which is conveyed in the funerary epitaph in the central plaque: a final praise of Cicogna's deeds resulting in the peaceful protection of Venice and her dominion.

The funerary monument to Doge Marcantonio Memmo is the last major ducal tomb which was erected in the first half of the seventeenth century (Fig. 34). Da Mosto recalls that in 1613 the doge tasked his executors, Pietro and Marcantonio, with the erection of a funerary monument on the counter-façade of the church of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice.¹³³ As stressed by Memmo in his will, he wished to be buried in a grave beneath the monument.¹³⁴ Judging from the will made by his nephew Tribuno, nonetheless, it seems that the doge was later accommodated in a

¹³¹ Samuel 1, 16:1 and Samuel 2, 7:13.

¹³² 'PATAVIO IN PAESTILENTIA' and 'ET PATRIAE IN FAME PRAESTO FUIT'.

¹³³ Da Mosto (2003), p. 335.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

wall-hung tomb.¹³⁵ Construction work began in 1613 during Memmo's dogate and finished after 1618.¹³⁶ Da Mosto has ascribed the monument to the circle of Vincenzo Scamozzi and Alessandro Vittoria.¹³⁷ More recently, Enrico Comastri has proposed the involvement of the Veronese artist Giulio Dal Moro (1555-1616) as the sculptor of Memmo's portrait bust and probably also as the architect of the monument.¹³⁸

As a basic structure, the monument presents a triumphal arch form with four Corinthian columns of grey variegated marble above pedestals on the base of Istrian stone. The central part of the monument takes the form of an aedicule with two Corinthian columns supporting a pediment which projects into the church space. Enshrined in this aedicule, Memmo's portrait bust has pride of place, set against a mosaic background above the sarcophagus which is placed above a memorial tablet showing the funerary epitaph. The pediment displays two recumbent female figures on its slopes¹³⁹ and the doge's coat of arms surmounted by the ducal *cornio* at the top. In the background between the Corinthian columns are the personifications of *Faith* on the left with the wooden cross, and *Charity* on the right standing above the

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Enrico Comastri, 'Profilo di Giulio Dal Moro', *Arte Veneta* 42 (1988), p. 93. The attribution to Dal Moro as the architect of the monument, a thesis which is also accepted by Rossi (1995), p. 120, deserves further scrutiny. As a matter of fact, there is no proof that Dal Moro devised the monument, with the exception of Memmo's bust which carries Dal Moro's signature.

¹³⁹ A probable source of inspiration for these figures is the altar of the *Madonna Nicopeia* in the basilica of Saint Mark's. The altar, which was executed by the architect Tommaso Contini between 1613 and 1618, displays two recumbent figures over the pediment whose iconography seems to anticipate that of the analogous figures in the Memmo monument. See Bassi (1962), p. 67; Martina Frank, 'I proti veneziani del seicento: considerazioni su vicende private e istituzionali', in *«Architetto sia l'ingegniero che discorre»*. *Ingegneri, architetti e proti nell'età della Repubblica*, eds Giuliana Mazzi and Stefano Zaggia (Venice: Marsilio, 2004), p. 132; Roca De Amicis (2008), p. 292.

brackets which protrude from the slabs of black marble. In the attic, there are four statues representing the *Cardinal Virtues*.

It is possible to construe the monument as a revival of the so-called *case vecchie dogali*, the most ancient and powerful patrician families, and as a reminder of Memmo's devotion to the Benedictine monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore.¹⁴⁰ The monument in fact glorifies the doge by tracing his mythical ancestry back to the time of Doge Tribuno Memmo (d. 991) who was, according to certain genealogists, a descendant of Roman patricians.¹⁴¹ Giulio Dal Moro's portrait bust of Marcantonio Memmo in his monument recalls the statue of his ancestor: a portrait bust of Doge Tribuno Memmo, which was also sculpted by Dal Moro, is exhibited in a triangular pedimented aedicule on the façade of the church.¹⁴² The Latin inscription on the memorial plaque can also be said to evoke the renewal of the *case vecchie dogali* of the Memmo family. It recalls that the monument was erected by Marcantonio's descendants Pietro and Marcantonio, who were the nephews of Marcantonio's nephew Tribuno.¹⁴³ A reference to the name Tribuno must have been made to recall the Doge Tribuno of the tenth century who evokes the legendary origins of the

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Gaier (2002), p. 22, and Tracy Cooper, *Palladio's Venice. Architecture and Society in a Renaissance Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 141.

¹⁴¹ See for example Giovanni Masotti, *L'olimpico trialogo di Giovanni Masotti, sopra l'idillio fatto da Lodovico Masotti per la creatione del Serenissimo Prencipe di Venetia Marco Antonio Memmo* (Vicenza: Francesco Grossi, 1613), pp. 31-32.

¹⁴² In 982 Tribuno Memmo signed the act of donation that formalised the Benedictine presence in San Giorgio Maggiore. Memmo's portrait bust is exhibited alongside that of Doge Sebastiano Ziani (c. 1102-78), a generous donor of the monastery of San Giorgio. Both busts were sculpted by Giulio Dal Moro around 1610. See Comastri (1988), p. 93, and Cooper (2005), pp. 140-41.

¹⁴³ 'MARCO ANTONIO MEMMO, IN REGENDIS POPULIS SINGULARI | SUMMA URBIS ET ORBIS LAETITIA AD DUCATU VENETIAR[UM] | EVECTO. PETRUS ET MARCUS ANTONIUS, EX TRIBUNO | MEMMO PRONEPOTES ET HEREDES, PATRUO MAGNO FIERI | CURARUNT. VIXIT ANNOS LXXIII, IN DUCATU TRES, MENSES | TRES, DIES SEX. OBIT XXVIII OCTOBRI MDCXV'.

family. Thus the monument metaphorically aggrandises the doge as the heir to Roman ancestors. This continuity between Imperial Rome and Venice is emphasised through the use of the triumphal arch form as well as the portrait busts.

The illustrious origins of the Memmo family were also praised in contemporary literature. In his 1612 sonnet in honour of the doge, the Paduan panegyrist Giovanni Domenico Pignata exalted the doge's kinship with the Trojan exiles who were, according to tradition, the legendary founders of Venice.¹⁴⁴ The Trojan blood of Mnestheus, the companion of Aeneas who is described by Virgil as the progenitor of the Roman *Gens Memmia*,¹⁴⁵ revives in Memmo's achievements and uncorrupted piety, thereby restoring the imperialistic *renovatio* in a new golden age.¹⁴⁶ The personifications of the *Cardinal Virtues*, *Charity* and *Faith* in the monument also recall the doge's religious devotion, which was praised by the panegyrist.¹⁴⁷ Thus the monument to Memmo mirrors the essential traits of the Venetian celebrative imagery as they took shape in early seventeenth-century ducal tombs: hereditary ties between Venetian families and the Roman patriciate, and the restoration of a novel and uncorrupted golden age through the good government of the doge.

¹⁴⁴ Giovanni Domenico Pignata, *L'Adriatico Nettuno. Idilio maritimo nella creatione del Serenissimo Principe di Venetia Marcantonio Memmo* (Padova: Pasquinati, 1612) unnumbered pages: '[...] Di te MARC'ANTONIO, / E de la MEMMA prole, / E del Sangue Reale, / Ed altera, e superba, / Venetia ogn'hor si vanta; / Invitta Stirpe MEMMA, / Che da' Troiani Scesa, / Da l'Italico Mnesteo, / Di MEMMA il nome prese, / E lasciò al Mondo gloriose imprese'. On the legends of the origins of Venice from a Trojan exile, see Muir (1981), pp. 65-74.

¹⁴⁵ Virgil, *Aeneid*, IV, 288; IX, 171, 781.

¹⁴⁶ Pignata (1612), unnumbered pages: '[...] Tu solo MARC'ANTONIO, / Che non quel gran Romano, / Si come al nome, a l'opre, / Agguagli sol, ma vinci. / Te di pietade ornato, / Grida la povertade, / Di Saper, di Consiglio, / Giusto, Saggio, Prudente, / Grida il Popol, la Gente'.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., unnumbered pages: '[...] Esemplio vero, e raro / Di Pietade, e di Pace, / Di vera Caritate, / E di santa Honestade: / [...] la gran Casa MEMMA, / Fu di Religione / Sempre vera coltrice'.

* * *

This chapter has investigated early seventeenth-century ducal monuments as insights into republican ethics and Venetian traditional imagery. Ducal tombs are vehicles which assert a certain vision of the Venetian state through the achievements of the doges. The humanistic debate on the location of moral virtue, and the development of an ethics that conceived service to the state as a means of demonstrating the honour and the loyalty of the patricians, influenced the erection of funerary monuments. In these monuments, the intersection of politics with religion resulted in a powerful ducal image which evoked the dual nature of the doge's office. Despite the limits to his power, the doge embodied the mystic and sovereign essence of the Republic. The triumphal arch monument and the enthroned figure of the doge in particular substantiated the mythic equation between Venice and Rome, and symbolically elevated the ducal dignity on a par with a sovereign.

In the Loredan monument, references to the doge's political and military achievements, as well as the presence of allegorical personifications, emphasise the importance of the state's preservation as a fundamental of republican ideology. In addition, Loredan's pivotal figure, in conjunction with a new emphasis on traditional architectural elements, renovates the tradition of ducal tombs as a monumental display of republican pride. The funerary monuments in honour of Doges Pasquale Cicogna, Marino Grimani and Marcantonio Memmo give evidence of the continuity in the iconography and themes which are visualised in the Loredan monument. The

doge's symbolic assimilation to a biblical figure, and the good government of Venice as a result of the doge's efficient rulership, are the main thematic contents of the Cicogna monument. In the mausoleum of Marino Grimani, the triumphal arch structure and the representation of the coronation of the doge draw attention to the sanctity of the ducal office, which symbolically increase the doge's dignity to the rank of a quasi-absolute ruler. The monument to Marcantonio Memmo evokes the doge's illustrious ancestry and his piety, which were also praised in panegyrics.

Baroque funerary monuments erected from 1640s onwards updated the structure and thematic content of early seventeenth-century ducal tombs. The enthroned doge of the Loredan monument in particular impacted on later ducal monuments, such as those in honour of Doges Francesco Erizzo and Giovanni Pesaro. What is the significance of this impact, and in what way did architects and patrons interpret the rhetorical message behind the triumphal arch monuments or the legacy of ancient Rome? And in what way did funerary monuments become complex rhetorical devices to engage the spectator and instil a compelling message? The following chapters will investigate these questions through an analysis of the monument to Doge Giovanni Pesaro and its influence on late seventeenth-century Venetian funerary monuments.

Chapter Two

Baldassarre Longhena's Monument to Doge Giovanni Pesaro and the Rhetoric of the Living Image

In a codicil to his last will and testament, which was written in 1659, Doge Giovanni Pesaro expressed his desire to erect a monumental tomb in the basilica of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari (Figs 35-42).¹ Pesaro left 12,000 ducats to execute the monument within ten years and specified that it should consist of statues, columns and a seated figure of himself.² In 1665, the doge's nephew, Leonardo Pesaro, who had commissioned the monument from Longhena, obtained permission to build it from the friars of the Frari.³ The monument was completed in 1669, as recalled in

¹ ASV, *Notarile, Testamenti*, b. 799, n. 255, quoted by Paola Rossi, 'I "marmi loquaci" del monumento Pesaro ai Frari', *Venezia arti* 4 (1990), p. 84. Andrea Da Mosto recalled that Giovanni Pesaro was buried in the grave of his ancestors before the high altar. The grave displays a slab of marble with an inscription at the centre and the coat of arms of the Pesaro family on the sides. See Da Mosto (2003), p. 400. The most reliable and exhaustive studies on the Pesaro monument are Rossi (1990), pp. 84-93, Frank (2004), pp. 334-38, and Hopkins (2012), pp. 5-9 and 150-57. In addition, see also Nicola Ivanoff, 'Monsù Giusto ed altri collaboratori del Longhena', *Arte Veneta* 2 (1948), pp. 115-16; Bassi (1962), p. 161; Semenzato (1966), pp. 19, 23; Susanna Biadene, *Catalogo delle opere*, in *Longhena* (exhibition catalogue, Villa Malpensata, Lugano, 30 August – 14 November 1982), ed. Lionello Puppi et al. (Milan: Electa, 1982), p. 162; Rona Goffen, *Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice. Bellini, Titian and the Franciscans* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. 159-61; Ennio Concina, *Storia dell'architettura di Venezia* (Milan: Electa, 1995, hereafter referred to as Concina, 1995a), p. 66; Puppi and Rugolo (1997), pp. 650-51; Massimo De Grassi, 'Un modellino di Giusto Le Court per il monumento Pesaro ai Frari', *Arte veneta* 53 (1998), pp. 124-27; Douglas Lewis, 'Three state tombs by Longhena', *Burlington Magazine*, 142/1173 (2000), p. 767; Gaier (2002), pp. 297-99; Da Mosto (2003), pp. 398-400; Augusto Roca De Amicis, 'Le chiese e le facciate commemorative', in *Storia dell'architettura nel Veneto. Il Seicento*, ed. Augusto Roca De Amicis (Venice: Marsilio, 2008), p. 266; Favilla and Rugolo (2009), pp. 63-71; Paul H. D. Kaplan, 'Italy, 1490-1700', in *The Image of the Black in Western Art. From the "Age of Discovery" to the Age of Abolition*, eds David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates Jr., vol. 3, part 1 (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2010), pp. 183-87; Damir Tulić, 'Giusto Le Court e il Monumento Pesaro ai Frari: un bozzetto per i "quattro bellissimi Affricani"', *Arte Veneta* 69 (2012), pp. 147-50; Paul (2013), pp. 168-69.

² ASV, *Notarile, Testamenti*, b. 799, no. 255, quoted by Rossi (1990), p. 84.

³ ASV, *Frari*, b. 106/XXXIII, f. 5c, quoted by Rossi (1990), p. 84.

the Latin epigraph on the sarcophagus below the doge's effigy at the centre of the monument.⁴

A sumptuous monument to Giovanni Pesaro occupies the third bay of the left nave of the Frari basilica. It displays polychrome marbles and is divided into two architectural orders (Fig. 35). Pedestals of black and white marble decorated with lion heads and garlands support telamones in the guise of Moors supporting a Doric entablature. The Moors are represented with a variety of pained expressions and bear cushions of white marble. Between the telamones, bronze skeletons appear holding drapes of marble with the funerary eulogy (Fig. 36a-b).⁵ At the centre, a door surmounted by an arch displays a keystone-putto holding a scroll with the Latin inscription 'statues will breathe' (Fig. 37).⁶ Above the cornice of the Doric frieze, four Corinthian columns of black variegated marble sustain the upper entablature which depicts a frieze with bas-relief putti and an intarsia design of polychrome marbles. In the middle, two putti hold a sculpted drape with the coat of arms of the Pesaro family and a crown above. The statue of Giovanni Pesaro has pride of place set against a slab of red marble with gold pendants resembling a canopy. The throne is placed on a sarcophagus showing two dragons on the front. On the left, there are two allegorical figures set on pedestals between the columns: the personification of *Religion* carrying a cross and that of *Constancy* who holds a shield with the head of a gorgon.⁷ On the right, the personification of *Truth* pointing to a sun on her chest

⁴ 'HIC REVIXIT ANNO MDCLXIX'.

⁵ For the transcription of the eulogy, see Appendix One.

⁶ 'SIGNA SPIRANTIA STABUNT'.

⁷ Rossi (1990), p. 86.

with her hand accompanies the representation of *Justice* carrying an axe and a twig bar.⁸ On the Doric entablature, further allegorical personifications are displayed alluding to Giovanni Pesaro's intellectual virtues and achievements: *Ingenuity* with an eagle above his head, *Nobility* with a crown in her hands and another on her lap, *Richness* with a bag full of coins at her feet, and *Study* holding a book and accompanied by a rooster.⁹

In this chapter I will rely on three primary sources by authors whose work is crucial for an understanding of the Pesaro monument. Firstly, the iconographic programme of the Pesaro monument was devised by the Turin-born Jesuit rhetorician Emanuele Tesauro and was printed in the *Inscriptiones*, a collection of Latin inscriptions which was first published in 1665 and thereafter reprinted many times.¹⁰ Secondly, the description of the Pesaro monument as it stood in the Frari basilica by Cristoforo Ivanovich, canon of Saint Mark and secretary of Leonardo Pesaro, survives in two manuscripts written by himself between 1683 and 1688, which were both left unfinished.¹¹ Finally, the Venetian poet and painter Giovanni Prati (1654-92) published a poem in 1690 describing and extolling the Pesaro

⁸ Ibid., p. 86.

⁹ Ibid., p. 86.

¹⁰ Emanuele Tesauro, *Inscriptiones, quotquot reperiri potuerunt* (Taurini: Bartholomaei Zapatae, 1666), pp. 281-84. Here I will rely on the 1666 edition of Tesauro's *Inscriptiones*. Andrew Hopkins observed that by 1654 unauthorised collections of Tesauro's *Inscriptiones* 'were circulating in Venice, followed by an official edition of 1666'. See Hopkins (2012), p. 283, note 11.

¹¹ BCV, MS Cicogna 384, *L'Istoria ne' Marmi, overo Memorie gloriose di Giovanni Pesaro, fu Serenissimo Principe di Venezia, figurate nel di lui Regio Mausoleo*, and BCV, MS Cicogna 878, *Marmi loquaci, overo il Regio Mausoleo, che rappresenta le Memorie gloriose di Giovanni da Pesaro Fu Serenissimo Principe di Venezia Divisi in tre Libri*. Both manuscripts have been discovered and analysed by Rossi (1990). Although there are minor differences, the descriptions in both texts are more or less the same. Hereafter, I will refer to BCV, MS Cicogna 384 because it is more complete. For a biography of Ivanovich (1620-89), see Rossi (1990), p. 91, note 11.

monument.¹²

The reading of Tesauro's iconographic programme of the Pesaro monument published in the *Inscriptiones* provides information on the monument's original structure and inscriptions before its erection in 1665.¹³ As Tesauro explains, the monument was supposed to represent the statue of Doge Giovanni Pesaro alongside trophies and allegorical figures representing his deeds.¹⁴ Moreover, Tesauro describes the personification of *Fame*, which was meant to be sculpted at the top of the monument, the statues of the *Parcae* represented at the doge's feet, and a Latin inscription on the urn of the doge quoting two lines from Claudianus's idyll *De Phoenice*.¹⁵ Finally, Tesauro explains that the text of the funerary eulogy to be inscribed on marmoreal drapes held by the skeletons in the Pesaro monument had to be shortened in comparison to the full text he provides in the *Inscriptiones* due to the limited space available in the monument.¹⁶

Tesauro's role as the inventor of the iconographic programme of the Pesaro monument is acknowledged by Cristoforo Ivanovich in his manuscript. Following

¹² Giovanni Prati, 'Per il sontuoso Mausoleo del Serenissimo Giovanni Pesaro, fu Principe glorioso di Venezia. Opera del Signor Giusto Decort', in id., *Il genio divertito. Poesie liriche di Giovanni Prati veneto [...] divise in eroiche, amoroze, morali, funebri, e sacre, consecrate all'eminetissimo prencipe, il sig. cardinale Pietro Otthobon legato d'Avignone* (Venezia: Andrea Poletti, 1690, hereafter referred to as Prati, 1690a), pp. 258-60. I thank Joris Van Gastel for bringing Prati's poem to my attention.

¹³ Tesauro (1666), p. 281, also quoted by Rossi (1990), p. 85.

¹⁴ Tesauro (1666), p. 281.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 281: 'Non Stamina Parcae / In te dira legunt: nec ius habuere nocendi'.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 281; Rossi (1990), p. 85. For the transcription of Tesauro's first redaction of the funerary eulogy of the Pesaro monument, see Appendix One. Scholars recalled that the discrepancy between the eulogy displayed in the monument and that redacted by Tesauro in the *Inscriptiones* led the state inquisitor Antonio Pisani to write to the Venetian ambassador in Rome in October 1669. See Rossi (1990), p. 85; Frank (2004), p. 71; Hopkins (2012), p. 157. Paola Rossi suggested that Tesauro's programme of the Pesaro monument was also meant to include the personifications of the *Four Continents* above the Corinthian entablature. These personifications are represented in a print by Giovan Battista Finazzi, which was probably based on Tesauro's original iconographic programme of the monument. See Rossi (1990), p. 90.

the description of the monument, Ivanovich argues that the Pesaro monument relied on the formulations of witticism theorised by Tesauro in his *Cannocchiale aristotelico*, a complex treatise on metaphor which had been first published in 1654.¹⁷ In this work Tesauro was concerned with delineating the concept of *argutezza*, a notion that can be approximately translated as wit or witticism.¹⁸ As it will be demonstrated in the following sections of this chapter, the concept of *argutezza* which is theorised in the *Cannocchiale aristotelico* is embodied in the Pesaro monument, especially in its intrinsic originality and liveliness. A reading of several passages from the *Cannocchiale aristotelico* and Ivanovich's interpretation of *argutezza* will provide insights into the influence of Tesauro's interpretation and use of the visual arts on seventeenth-century art theory.

In addition to Tesauro and Ivanovich's texts, an ekphrastic poem by Giovanni Prati represents a third – and hitherto unobserved – primary source which describes the Pesaro monument.¹⁹ In 1690, the Venetian typographer Andrea Poletti printed a compilation of lyrical poems by Prati which focused on various subjects. In one of these poems, Prati celebrated Le Court's sculptures adorning the Pesaro monument by emphasising their remarkable lifelikeness.²⁰ Although the compilation was

¹⁷ Rossi (1990), pp. 84-85; Hopkins (2012), p. 7; Emanuele Tesauro, *Il cannocchiale aristotelico* (Torino, 1654). Here I will rely on a reprint of the 1670 edition of the *Cannocchiale aristotelico*. See Emanuele Tesauro, *Il cannocchiale aristotelico*, ed. August Buck (Berlin and Zürich: Gehlen, 1968). For Tesauro (1592-1675), see Giulio Marzot, *L'ingegno e il genio del seicento* (Florence: La Nuova Italia 1944), *passim*, esp. pp. 43-44, 48-50, 64; *Trattatisti e narratori del seicento*, ed. Ezio Raimondi (Milan and Naples: Ricciardi, 1960), pp. 19-106, and Mario Zanardi, 'Sulla genesi del «Cannocchiale aristotelico» di Emanuele Tesauro', *Studi secenteschi* 23-24 (1982-83), pp. 3-61 and 3-50.

¹⁸ As pointed out by Maarten Delbeke, 'The Public Lives of Artworks. Likeness as a Figure of Speech in Bernini's Biographies and Emanuele Tesauro's *Cannocchiale aristotelico*', in Van Eck et al. (2014), p. 298. I am most grateful to Joris Van Gastel for bringing Delbeke's essay to my attention before its publication. On witticism, cf. also Tagliabue (1955), p. 160.

¹⁹ Prati (1690a), pp. 258-60. For the transcription of Prati's poem, see Appendix Two.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 258-60.

published in 1690, it is possible that Prati's poem was composed when the monument was unveiled in 1669.²¹ The poem can be defined as the monument's literary counterpart. By resorting to panegyric ekphrasis, not only did Prati describe the monument, but also ultimately reinvented it. By imagining an amused yet surprised spectator contemplating the Pesaro monument, Prati invokes anecdotes about the themes which had animated the humanistic debate on the visual arts, rhetoric and literature for centuries: the evocative power of the images; the myth of the sculptor as a demiurge; and the lifelikeness and liveliness of Le Court's sculptures in the Pesaro monument, to name but a few. Above all, Prati's poem provides an important insight into the way in which seventeenth-century observers regarded the monument as an animated image capable of instilling a persuasive message and of coaxing viewers into certain beliefs.

In the following sections, visual analysis of the monument will be compared with several lines of Prati's poem as a commentary on the monument's iconography and the viewer's response. It is not my intention to focus on a textual analysis and paraphrase of the poem. On the contrary, I intend to concentrate on the themes evoked by Prati which best describe the relationship between the Pesaro monument and the beholder, the interrelation between architecture, sculpture and surrounding space, and the dialectic between words and images. An examination of excerpts from Prati's poem in relation to analysis of the monument will, therefore, shed light on the

²¹ It is likely that also the other poems published in the same collection were composed at different times, because they refer to people who lived in different years or events that took place in various years.

stylistic, iconographic and iconological features of the Pesaro monument. This chapter will also explore the interaction between architecture and sculpture, which is so evident in this monument, especially through the visual analysis of the Moors which are displayed in the lower register and their relation to the other sculptures. Finally, the last section will focus on other poems stylistically akin to Prati's. The analysis of *topoi* conjured up by these poems in relation to architectural and sculptural features of the Pesaro monument will provide us with supporting material to help us better understand the seventeenth-century reception of the Pesaro monument.

1. The Pesaro Monument, Its Design and Iconography

In his ekphrastic poem about the Pesaro monument, Giovanni Prati invites his reader to marvel at the colossal monument in memory of Doge Giovanni Pesaro. Allured by such magnificence, the beholder contemplates the monument absorbed by a mixture of both surprise and awe. Approaching the monument from the front, the beholder is captured by the plinth of Moors struggling under their burden. Their appearance is extremely naturalistic and impressive (Figs 37-38). They are grimacing in pain, and their deep black eyes are mirrors of their agony. Although they are mute and motionless, the Moors are so much lifelike that only their voices are lacking. Although intimidated, the beholder raises his head towards the upper part of the monument. In guise of a monarch, Doge Giovanni Pesaro is enthroned alongside a row of allegorical figures (Fig. 39). His glance is penetrating (Fig. 40). Only a moment suffices, and the beholder is suddenly turned into stone, while the august

doge and all the other sculptures begin to move, speak, breathe, and come alive.²² In summary, the lifelikeness of sculpture, the viewer's emotional response in front of the monument, the persuasive power of the images, and the mastery of the sculptor to instil life into stone are the main themes which are invoked by Prati.

Just as the poem eloquently visualises and extolls the monument, so too the monument consists of both visual and encomiastic levels. These levels are entwined in Prati's poem. The poem is not only descriptive, but also provides insights into the complex issue of the viewer's response to the evocative power of the images. Both levels also coexist in Longhena's monument. Even without the evidence of Prati's poem, we can assume that the monument was designed to appear "alive": it was meant to move and interact with the beholder even as Longhena was devising it. The liveliness of the Pesaro monument and its engagement with the viewer, indeed, occurs through its architecture, iconography, and polychromy in relation with the surrounding space; and its distinctive features result from Longhena's style. Let us begin our analysis by describing the iconography of the Pesaro monument, its architectural features and its interaction both with the viewer and with the architecture of the basilica.

The complexity of the Pesaro monument is a result of Longhena's incorporation of architectural, sculptural and chromatic elements into a relatively simple architectural framework. Longhena divided the monument into two registers according to a scale of 1:1 (Fig. 35). Such a structure was somewhat conventional and

²² Prati (1690a), pp. 258-60.

reinterpreted the design of sixteenth-century ducal wall tombs. Giovanni Antonio Rusconi's funerary monument of the doges Lorenzo (d. 1559) and Gerolamo Priuli (d. 1567, Fig. 43) combines two Corinthian orders which are separated by an entablature and incorporates at its lower register the recumbent statues of the doges, their patron saints triumphing in the upper tier.²³ In the lower register of the Pesaro monument, the portal flanked by the telamones sustaining the entablature recalls the structure of a triumphal arch. A glance at the telamones instantly clarifies their task as column-statues, a function which is also partially amplified by the trapezoid plinths on which they are standing (Fig. 36a-b). Although the telamones are indeed a distinctive feature of the Pesaro monument, what strikes the observer most is the upper register. Instead of being smaller to enhance the illusion of height, the four Corinthian columns above the Doric entablature are approximately as tall as the telamones which are displayed below. Longhena could have devised a lower register in guise of a triumphal arch surmounted by an attic, a structure quite common in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century ducal monuments such as those to Francesco Venier, Leonardo Loredan or Marino Grimani (Figs 2, 13, 23).²⁴ On the contrary, Longhena invented a higher register which duplicated the triumphal arch structure of the lower order. As a result, the Pesaro monument combines two triumphal arches superimposed upon one another: the upper arch is the extension of the lower.

The peculiar architectural structure of the Pesaro monument amplifies its interaction both with the architectural surroundings and the beholder. In order to

²³ On the Priuli monument, see Simane (1993), pp. 49-64.

²⁴ See Chapter One, Sections 2 and 3.

demonstrate how this interaction works, it is necessary to consider the ways in which the monument allows for various points of observation. These reflect the position of the observer, who does not stand still in front of the monument but instead moves along its face or approaches it from different directions. The first and most obvious point of observation is from the front, standing in the central nave (Fig. 35). The monument is not confined to the Gothic bay of the church. Its architecture is connected with the nave through an interplay of architectural references. Below the plinth of Moors in the lower register, the monument displays a base of black and white marble. In front of the base, three steps connect the lateral nave to the portal which is incorporated into the monument and leads to the *campo* which is adjacent to the church. As a result, the structure of the lower register seems to expand the monument both in height and in depth. Protruding from the base, the plinths are developed vertically into the row of Moors. In width, the trapezoidal contour of the plinths replicates the bases of the pilasters in the nave, albeit on a smaller scale. Observation of the monument from the central nave gives an immediate impression of this feature (Fig. 41).

The relationship between the monument and the structure of the church can be found in the higher register as well. Harmonisation with the vault is accentuated by the gothic lunette above the Corinthian entablature of the monument (Fig. 42). The surface of the lunette is decorated with stone cladding in imitation of intarsia. As a result of this structure, Longhena found an expedient to connect the flat, horizontal surface of the Corinthian entablature to the Gothic vault of the church. The Baroque

forms which animate the Pesaro monument are thus harmonised with the Gothic architecture of the basilica and offer a powerful image of Giovanni Pesaro as the last great patron of the Frari.²⁵ As connective elements, the pointed arch and the base below the plinths do not add weight to the monument. Nonetheless, they do act as structural additions to the telamonic order and the Corinthian entablature which expand the fictitious space of the monument and its interaction with the surrounding space.

Thus far we have described the architectural and sculptural features of the Pesaro monument assuming that the bystander is observing it from the front. What happens, then, when the spectator gets closer and looks at the sculptures from other perspectives? There is a point of observation which is generally overlooked by rushed contemporary onlookers. By standing next to the portal and viewing the monument from bottom to top, the spectator is first overawed by the intimidating Moors and then intrigued by the Latin motto inscribed on the drape held by the keystone putto (Fig. 37). The putto at the summit of an arch has been a common feature in Venetian architecture from the Renaissance onwards.²⁶ A keystone putto is displayed in Longhena's commemorative altar for the Morosini family in San Pietro di Castello (Fig. 44).²⁷ Other notable examples include the putto with symbols of ducal rule on the keystone of the Arco Foscari, in Jacopo Bellini's drawing

²⁵ The patronage of the Pesaro family at the Frari has been widely acknowledged by scholars. See Goffen (1986), p. 30.

²⁶ In general, the conventional feature at the summit of an arch is a headstone. To my knowledge, a putto instead of a headstone only occurs in Venetian architecture, although this needs further investigation.

²⁷ On the Morosini altarpiece, see Hopkins (2012), p. 136.

depicting Christ before Pilate (Figs 45-46) and in the main portal of San Moisè.²⁸ In my view, the putti were introduced to attract more attention than the conventional headstones, and to introduce scrolls with inscriptions.

The keystone putto in the Pesaro monument bears a scroll with the Latin inscription ‘statues will breathe’, which sums up the entire monument.²⁹ As Ivanovich observes in his manuscript, the motto derives from a famous passage of Virgil’s *Aeneid*.³⁰ In these lines, Virgil evokes ‘breathing bronze statues’ (‘spirantia aera’) and ‘faces of living marble’ (‘vivos marmore vultus’) celebrating the descendants of Aeneas and the future heroes of Rome.³¹ It is possible to demonstrate that the motto, since it is inspired by Virgil, further dignifies the celebration of Doge Giovanni Pesaro. The breathing statues mentioned by Virgil in fact allude to the classical *topos* of the “living image”, a ‘metaphorical characterization of the visual quality’ denoting the likeness or the liveliness of a work of art.³² This *topos* gained critical fortune when it was commented upon by Petrarch in the Middle Ages and Paolo Giovio in the Renaissance.³³

Ivanovich explains the motto as not only referring to Virgil, but also to Tesauro’s theories. As Andrew Hopkins observed, Ivanovich evoked a complex

²⁸ The façade of San Moisè will be discussed further in Chapter Four. A putto bearing a scroll is also represented in the funerary monument to Doge Francesco Erizzo in San Martino, Venice, on the top of the triangular pediment (Figs 47-48).

²⁹ Hopkins (2012), p. 7.

³⁰ BCV, MS Cicogna 384, f. 18r-v, quoted by Rossi (1990), p. 93, note 20.

³¹ Virgil, *Aeneid* VI, 847-53: ‘Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera / (credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore vultus, / orabunt causas melius caelique meatus / describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent: / tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento / (hae tibi erunt artes) pacique imponere morem, / parcere subiectis et debellare superbos’.

³² I borrow this definition from Baxandall (1971), pp. 13 and 51.

³³ For the *signa spirantia*, see *ibidem.*, *passim*, esp. pp. 51-120. On the living image, see the bibliography mentioned above in Introduction, p. 18 note 38.

conception of artistic creation where artists resorted to rhetorical techniques to induce specific effects in the viewers.³⁴ In fact Ivanovich explained in his manuscript that the motto was meant to proclaim that ‘everything that is adorned and represented in this august monument, everything signifies, everything alludes, and everything speaks’.³⁵ Ivanovich’s words can be correctly understood and interpreted only in relation to Tesauro. In fact they paraphrase the definition of *argutezza* illustrated by Tesauro in the *Cannocchiale aristotelico*.³⁶ What is, then, *argutezza*, and how is it embodied in the Pesaro monument? To answer this question it is necessary to make a digression into the notion of *argutezza* as it was conceived by Tesauro and interpreted by Ivanovich in his description of the Pesaro monument.

2. Emanuele Tesauro, the *Argutezza*, and its Influence on Longhena’s Pesaro Monument

At the beginning of his manuscript, Cristoforo Ivanovich explains that the Pesaro monument is a story depicted in marbles which speak and act as reminders of the doge’s deeds: ‘marbles will speak and will form the memories of the present as symbols of the prince’s eternity’.³⁷ Ivanovich’s remark recalls and paraphrases Emanuele Tesauro’s definition of *argutezza*, as stated in the *Cannocchiale aristotelico*. In his first chapter, Tesauro defines *argutezza* as a quality of lively figures of speech.³⁸

Tesauro describes it as a ‘great mother of every ingenious conceit; a bright luminary

³⁴ Hopkins (2012), p. 7. See also Rossi (1990), p. 85.

³⁵ BCV, MS Cicogna 384, f. 17v, also quoted by Rossi (1990), p. 85 and Hopkins (2012), p. 7: ‘[...] Con questo si viene ad inferire, che tutto ciò, che di fregiato, e di figurato comparisce in questa augusta mole, tutto significa, tutto allude, e tutto parla’.

³⁶ Rossi (1990), pp. 84-85; Hopkins (2012), p. 7.

³⁷ BCV, MS Cicogna 384, f. 1r: ‘[I marmi] parleranno, e formeranno le presenti Memorie come simboli dell’Eternità ad un Principe’, also quoted by Rossi (1990), p. 84.

³⁸ Delbeke (2013), p. 298.

of oratory and poetic elocution; a living spirit of the dead pages [...]; a vestige of divinity in the human soul'.³⁹ Thus, Tesauro delineates the concept of *argutezza* as a quality which evokes not only the liveliness but also the immanent living spirit from which words and images draw their vividness and originality.⁴⁰ As Tesauro further explains, '[...] it is thanks to *argutezza* that mute things speak, the senseless live, and the dead revive; tombs, marbles and statues receive voice, spirit and movement from this enchanter of souls, and ingeniously discourse with ingenious people. The only dead things are those that *argutezza* does not revive'.⁴¹

In the *Cannocchiale aristotelico*, Tesauro also explains that one of the effects of *argutezza* is the generation of stupor and marvel in the viewer.⁴² To clarify this function, Tesauro outlines the qualities of *argutezza* in relation to metaphors. In Tesauro's words, the metaphor is not just a figure of speech, but the art of deceiving the public by leading it to mistake one thing for another in order to give pleasure.⁴³ As a paralogism, the metaphor persuades the viewer to reflect on the artist's deception so that the spectator can praise it. Thus, the metaphor denotes a device to explain the way in which the deception of art works. Art deceives the viewer because

³⁹ Tesauro (1968), p. 1.

⁴⁰ In my view, this is partially connected to the Aristotelian notion of *enargeia*, that is, the vividness and lifelikeness achieved by the use of figures of speech, especially the metaphor. It plays an important role in classical rhetoric as a powerful instrument of persuasion. For the definition of *enargeia*, see Van Eck (2007), p. 7. Aristotle was the main source of Tesauro's ideas expounded throughout the *Cannocchiale aristotelico*.

⁴¹ Tesauro (1968), p. 2: '[...] per miracolo di lei [the *argutezza*], le cose Mutele parlano; le insensate vivono; le morte risorgono; le Tombe, i Marmi, le Statue; da questa incantatrice degli animi ricevendo voce, spirito e movimento; con gli Huomini ingegnosi, ingegnosamente discorrono. Insomma, tanto solamente è morto, quanto dall'Argutezza non è avvivato'.

⁴² Ibid., *passim*, esp. pp. 541-42. See also Delbeke (2013), pp. 298-304.

⁴³ Tesauro's interpretation of metaphor as a paralogisms is thorough and extensive. See *ibid.*, *passim*, esp. pp. 300-2, 460-81, 542-43. For the secondary literature, see Pierantonio Frare, *Per istraforo di prospettiva: il Cannocchiale aristotelico e la poesia del seicento* (Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 2000), pp. 13-54, and Delbeke (2014), pp. 298-304.

of its detailed lifelikeness. By dividing *argutezza* in different subcategories (painted, sculpted, vocal and composite), Tesauro explains that painted images are pleasurable because of their intensive mimesis.⁴⁴ The same occurs with sculpture: thanks to *argutezza*, statues become metaphors and a vehicle of poetic concepts.⁴⁵ It is no surprise, then, that Tesauro cites Virgil to substantiate his explanation of the ‘sculpted *argutezza*’ (‘argutie scolpite’).⁴⁶ In the third book of the *Georgics*, Virgil provides an ekphrasis of the temple in honour of Caesar representing his military triumphs. In particular, Virgil uses the metaphor of the ‘breathing statues’ (‘signa spirantia’) when he refers to the statues adorning the temple of Caesar as being so lifelike as if they were alive.⁴⁷ It is therefore by virtue of the metaphor that mute things speak and the dead revive. As the mute and lifeless marble receives voice and movement, the goal of *argutezza* is obtained: by looking at an image, the spectator is abruptly disillusioned and encouraged to believe.⁴⁸

Tesauro’s definition of *argutezza* allows us to achieve a better comprehension of Ivanovich’s words when he mentions the ‘speaking marbles’ of the Pesaro monument at the beginning of his manuscript.⁴⁹ In fact, Ivanovich highlights Tesauro’s *argutezza* in order to emphasise the evocative power of the monument, the likeness of the sculptures, and the capacity of the monument to solicit the viewer’s

⁴⁴ Tesauro (1968), p. 26: ‘[...] la PITTURA, la qual trahendo dinanzi agli occhi li simulacri delle cose; per virtù della *Imitatione materiale*, genera nell’intelletto un piacevole inganno, et una ingannevole maraviglia; facendoci a credere *che il finto sia il vero* [...]’.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 32-33 and Delbeke (2014), p. 299.

⁴⁶ Tesauro (1968), p. 32.

⁴⁷ Virgil, *Georgics*, III, 34: ‘Stabunt et Parii lapides spirantia signa’. Paola Rossi noted that this line from Virgil’s *Georgics* is actually the main source of inspiration for the Latin motto displayed on the keystone putto in the Pesaro monument. See Rossi (1990), p. 93, note 20.

⁴⁸ Tesauro (1968), pp. 2, 12, 460. See also Delbeke (2014), p. 302.

⁴⁹ BCV, MS Cicogna 384, f. 1r.

attention by seducing him or her and ultimately instilling a persuasive message. In what way does the Pesaro monument enliven *argutezza*? This enlivenment occurs in the monument through the aesthetic seduction of the onlooker as a consequence of the sculptures' intense lifelikeness. An analysis of the statue of the doge as it is described in Prati's poem will clarify the point.

In the poem, Prati describes the statue with the following words: '[...] The eloquent image [of the doge] strikes terror into the Thracian / and silently forces everyone to venerate the doge's urn. / Although mute, although senseless, the effigy of the regal doge breathes, is full of vigour / and as such it moves to fear through the majesty of the gaze and authority'.⁵⁰ In these lines, Prati explains that persuasion is an effect of the "breathing" portrait of the doge which induces both the Moors and the viewer to show reverence in sign of respect. Therefore, when Prati says that the statue, albeit mute and senseless, 'breathes' and 'is full of vigour', he alludes to its intense lifelikeness. To better understand the sense of Prati's words, let us now consider the doge's sculpted effigy (Fig. 40).

The lifelikeness of the doge's effigy is recalled by Ivanovich when he said that the effigy was sculpted after the portrait of the doge (now lost) which was painted from life by Girolamo Forabosco.⁵¹ As Rossi suggested, Le Court's capacity to model the doge's effigy from the painted portrait is especially demonstrated in the meticulousness of even its smallest details: the lineaments on the doge's face, his

⁵⁰ Prati (1690a), p. 260: '[...] E faconda l'immagine, onde ne induce / Terror al Trace; e in lingua taciturna / Sforza ogni cuore a venerar quell'Urna. / Spira abbenchè insensata, abbenchè muta, / La sembianza regal vigor primiero, / E in forma tale ancora è in lei temuta / La maestà del guardo, e de l'Impero'.

⁵¹ BCV, MS Cicogna 384, f. 16r, cited in Rossi (1990), p. 85.

coiffure, and the arabesques on the *cornio ducale* and the doge's garments.⁵² The doge's statue of white marble stands out against the red variegated marmoreal drape by means of a great chromatic contrast. The throne, gesticulating hands and penetrating gaze impart eloquence and majesty to the statue. There are two precedents of seventeenth-century ducal tombs that displayed the effigy of the enthroned doge with such intense realism and attention to detail. In the monument to Doge Leonardo Loredan in Santi Giovanni e Paolo (completed c. 1616, Fig. 2), Girolamo Campagna emphasised the doge's physiognomy and the gestural expressiveness to enhance its relation with the other sculptures in the monument.⁵³ Mattia Carneri's monument to Doge Francesco Erizzo in San Martino, Venice (1634-43, Fig. 47) represents Erizzo's enthroned figure under a gilded, mosaiced baldachin.⁵⁴ The enthroned doge is represented with attention to minute details such as the doge's right hand, which is bearing a document, the painted decorations on the doge's dress and the *cornio ducale* to enhance reality. Furthermore, the Erizzo monument presents other interesting analogies with Longhena's Pesaro monument.⁵⁵ His sculpted portrait is in fact inserted into a triumphal arch structure which incorporates a portal and displays four composite columns of variegated marble which are surmounted by an attic.⁵⁶ The combination of the doge's enthroned portrait with a structure

⁵² Rossi (1990), pp. 85-86.

⁵³ On the Loredan monument, see Section 2 in Chapter One.

⁵⁴ Giustiniano Martinioni described Erizzo's figure 'in atto di ricevere suppliche', that is, as if the doge is "receiving a plea": an allusion to the document (probably a letter) Erizzo is holding in his right hand. This reading has later been accepted by Domenico Martinelli and Giannantonio Moschini. See Sansovino (1663), p. 35; Martinelli (1705), p. 118; Moschini (1815), vol. 1, p. 63.

⁵⁵ To my knowledge, the only mention of the resemblances between the two monuments is in the recent article by Massimo Favilla and Ruggero Rugolo. See Favilla and Rugolo (2013), p. 119.

⁵⁶ For the monument, see Da Mosto (2003), p. 375, and Paola Rossi, 'Andrea Dall'Aquila e Mattia

recalling a triumphal arch enhances the grandiloquence of the monument and the majesty of the doge's figure.⁵⁷

The sublimity of the Pesaro monument also evokes the ideal of majesty in seventeenth-century papal tombs. Pesaro's enthroned statue overlooking the allegorical personifications above the Doric entablature and the doge's hands which mimic a mute dialogue both recall the famous monument of Pope Urban VIII by Bernini (1627-47, Fig. 49). The Pesaro monument not only takes papal tombs as models, but also anticipates some of their features. It has already been acknowledged that the bronze encased skeletons in the Pesaro monument anticipate those in Bernini's monument to Pope Alexander VII (1671).⁵⁸ Later papal tombs, especially in the Settecento, were to incorporate portals or display sumptuous drapes surmounted by putti holding coat of arms.⁵⁹ Similar to these monuments, the statue of Pesaro inspires command, authority and power. These qualities mirrored the personality of Giovanni Pesaro as described in his biographies.⁶⁰

Returning to Prati, it is now clearer that when he says that the doge's statue is

Carneri a Venezia', in *Scultura in Trentino. Il Seicento e il Settecento*, eds Andrea Bacchi and Luciana Giacomelli, vol. 1 (Trento: Provincia Autonoma di Trento, 2003), pp. 391-92.

⁵⁷ Cf. Martina Frank's remarks on the same topic in Frank (2004), p. 72. That Carneri was an architect who was partly influenced by Longhena is an old cliché within scholarship. See for example the overview of Carneri's oeuvre in Bassi (1962), p. 142. It is, however, true that Carneri and Longhena collaborated, although indirectly, on the high altar of Santi Giovanni e Paolo which was originally devised by Carneri and then completed by Longhena around 1666, as recalled by Hopkins (2012), p. 260. As a matter of fact, Carneri was a rather independent architect even when he collaborated with Longhena, and it would not be erroneous to think that he might have had an influence on him. See Andrea Bacchi, 'Mattia Carneri', in Bacchi and Giacomelli (2003), vol. 2, pp. 105-14.

⁵⁸ Hopkins (2012), p. 155.

⁵⁹ See for example Pierre Legros and Pierre Etienne Monnot's monument of Pope Gregory XV in Sant'Ignazio in Rome (c. 1709-12), or Filippo della Valle's tomb monument of Pope Innocent X in San Pietro in Vatican (1746). Good quality pictures of both monuments can be found in the electronic catalogue of the Alinari archives and the Fondazione Federico Zeri: www.alinariarchives.it; www.catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it, consulted 16 October 2016.

⁶⁰ See Da Mosto (2003), pp. 396-97.

‘eloquent’ (‘faconda’), he refers to the persuasive power of art as a result of intense lifelikeness.⁶¹ By depicting the statue as ‘faconda’ (eloquent), Prati implied that Le Court surpassed himself and even sculpted the doge’s psychological character. On the one hand, the adjective ‘faconda’ conjures up eloquence specifically as the quintessential rhetorical skill required to those dealing with politics. On the other, it qualifies the doge’s effigy as an image which invokes authority and induces persuasion. Therefore, the detailed lifelikeness not only induces terror in the telamones which are sustaining the entablature (‘Terror al Trace’), but persuades the spectator to venerate Pesaro’s enthroned image (‘Sforza ogni cuore a venerar quell’urna’). As Prati says, this happens mutely and eloquently: the mute eloquence of marbles (‘Muta eloquenza’) instils both fear and admiration. Indeed the way in which this process occurs is entirely fictional: it is the magic of art thanks to the power of resemblance that inspires awe but also wonder.⁶²

The importance of persuasion as a result of likeness is also theorised by Tesauro. The principle upon which likeness works is the same as that of metaphor, as Maarten Delbeke observes: ‘just as an image takes the place of an object to express it more forcefully, so the portrait momentarily reveals the model as it really is’.⁶³ One of the most important effects of resemblance is that it instils both liveliness and rhetorical potency in an image: by recognising an image as such the beholder not only

⁶¹ Prati (1690a), p. 260: ‘[...] E faconda l’immagine, onde ne induce / Terror al Trace’.

⁶² As demonstrated in a different context by Marc Fumaroli, *La scuola del silenzio. Il senso delle immagini nel XVII secolo* (Milan: Adelphi, 1995, first published 1994), p. 72.

⁶³ Delbeke (2014), p. 302. See also Tesauro (1968), pp. 12, 130.

experiences aesthetic pleasure, but is also affected morally.⁶⁴ This point is stressed by Prati when he says that the statue of Giovanni Pesaro evokes majesty and power.⁶⁵ Evidently, the sculptor plays a fundamental role in ensuring the success of the artwork: the more lively the statue, the more persuasive and effective the message. Thus, by recognising the similarity between Giovanni Pesaro and his sculpted effigy, the spectator becomes aware that the statue summons up the authority of the doge's role. To paraphrase Tesauro, one may therefore say that, thanks to *argutezza*, Pesaro's effigy lives in the marble and is recognised as such by the viewer, who is compelled to show respect before it.

The analysis thus far has shed light on the way in which the Pesaro monument embodies the idea of Tesauro's *argutezza*, and how the viewer's interaction is an essential element in a full appreciation of the monument's liveliness and originality. It exemplifies the intricate relationship between architecture, sculpture and the beholder, which demands a more accurate assessment of the collaboration between Longhena and Le Court.⁶⁶ In the next section I will examine the plinth of Moors, which forms both the architectural and sculptural element of the lower register of the monument, and its relation with the other sculptures above it, which is both visual and rhetorical.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 12 and 100.

⁶⁵ Prati (1690a), p. 260: '[...] E in forma tale ancora è in lei temuta / La maestà del guardo, e de l'Impero'.

⁶⁶ The engagement between sculpture and architecture is also evident from a stylistic point of view. In this regard, polychromy plays a fundamental role. The presence of black Chalcedony slabs, the intarsia design in different areas of the monument, the variegated marbles of the columns and the polychrome drape accentuate the chromatic contrasts and intensify the animation of the sculptures. These are of white Carrara marble (excluding the body of the Moors) and would lose their plasticity if set on a simple white background.

3. Longhena's Telamones

The architectural motif of the telamon is no doubt one of Longhena's favourites. In 1669, Longhena devised a temporary catafalque for the funeral rites of François de Vendôme, Duke of Beaufort and intendant-general of the French fleet, who died in Candia in the same year (Fig. 50).⁶⁷ The catafalque displayed an octagonal tabernacle punctuated by telamones supporting a Doric frieze. The telamones carry a cushion above their heads and wear a garment which leaves only their knees and arms exposed. The octagonal tabernacle replicated the high altar in San Nicolò da Tolentino that displays angels in guise of telamones supporting a projecting entablature resting on cushions (Fig. 51).⁶⁸ In 1670s, Longhena and Le Court collaborated on a commemorative monument to Caterino Cornaro in Padua which displayed telamones and slaves.⁶⁹ For the Camaldolese convent of San Michele in Isola, Longhena devised monuments to the brothers Giorgio, Pietro and Lorenzo Morosini which repeat the telamones and skeletons of the Pesaro monument in the lower register (Figs 52-53).⁷⁰ Naked telamones partially covered by a garment appear in the pulpit of the cathedral of Chioggia which was devised by Longhena in 1677 and executed by Bortolo Cavalieri and Domenico Negri.⁷¹ Finally, herms and telamones are the main feature of the façade of Santa Maria dei Derelitti (Fig. 93).⁷²

These works illustrate the frequency with which Longhena availed himself of

⁶⁷ For the catafalque, see Frank (2004), pp. 370-72, 480, and Hopkins (2012), pp. 31-34 and 157.

⁶⁸ For the Tolentino altarpiece, see Frank (2004), pp. 313-15, and Hopkins (2012), p. 34.

⁶⁹ On the Cornaro monument, see Sections 1-4 in Chapter Three.

⁷⁰ See Frank (2004), pp. 412-12, and Hopkins (2012), p. 157.

⁷¹ See *ibid.*, pp. 271-72.

⁷² The façade of Santa Maria dei Derelitti will be discussed further in Sections 4-8 in Chapter Four.

telamones in his architecture, although they do not immediately clarify the specific meaning of the Moors in the Pesaro monument. It should also be noticed that these monuments were executed after the completion of the Pesaro tomb. The telamones, therefore, accomplish a function that was first codified in the Pesaro monument. But what is this function, and why are they so relevant?

The Moors of the Pesaro monument are reinterpretations of the ancient telamones which have been utilised as supporting figures since ancient Greece. The function of the telamones as figures supporting the Doric entablature in the Pesaro monument explains their representation as Moorish slaves. In Greek sculpture and mythology, telamones were often represented as atlases: an allusion to the myth of Atlas, the Titan condemned to hold up the sky for eternity.⁷³ In the *De Architectura*, Vitruvius does not mention the myth of Atlas, but recalls the famous description of the portico representing Persian slaves in the guise of Doric columns which he had learnt from Pausanias (Fig. 54).⁷⁴ Vitruvius's story is well known: during the battle of Plataea (479 BC), a small number of Spartans defeated the large army of the Persians.

⁷³ Andreas Schmidt-Colinet, *Antike Stützfiguren. Untersuchungen zu Typus und Bedeutung der menschengestaltigen Architekturstütze in der griechischen und römischen Kunst* (Frankfurt: Universität zu Berlin, 1977), pp. 44-45. Vitruvius referred to male supporting statues known as *atlantes* and said that the Latin word for them is *telamones*. See Elizabeth McGrath, 'Caryatids, Page Boys, and African Fetters. Themes of Slavery in European Art', in *The Slave in European Art. From Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem*, eds Elizabeth McGrath and Jean Michel Massing (London and Turin: The Warburg Institute – Nino Aragno Editore, 2012), p. 7, note 19.

⁷⁴ Here I will rely on the description of the Persian portico in the 1567 edition of Daniele Barbaro's commentaries on Vitruvius. See *I dieci libri dell'architettura di Marco Vitruvio. Tradotti et commentati da Monsignor Daniel Barbaro eletto Patriarca d'Aquileia, da lui riveduti et ampliati; et hora in più comoda forma ridotti* (Venetia: Francesco De' Franceschi, 1567), p. 15. It is not my intention to focus on the illustrations of the Persian portico in other editions of the *De Architectura* (most notably those by fra Giovanni Giocondo, 1511, and Cesare Cesariano, 1521), which are analysed by Margaret M. D'Evelyn, 'Varietà and the Caryatid Portico in Daniele Barbaro's *Commentaries* on Vitruvius', *Annali di architettura* 10-11 (1998-99), pp. 157-74. On Barbaro's Persian portico, and on the concept of column-statue, see the fundamental monograph by Joseph Rykwert, *The Dancing Column. On Order in Architecture* (Cambridge and London: the MIT press, 1996), p. 129.

With the money obtained from the spoils, the Spartans erected a portico to demonstrate their loyalty and bravery during the war. The columns of the portico represented statues of Persian prisoners sustaining the Doric cornice as a punishment for their arrogance. Because of their tattered clothes and colossal appearance, they were intended to remind enemies of the risks of fighting the Spartans and to encourage the Spartans to defend their liberty.⁷⁵

Vitruvius's description of the Persian slaves is indirectly recalled by Tesauro's programme of the Pesaro monument when he defined the telamones as 'barbaric atlases'.⁷⁶ They were meant to look both noble, like atlantes, and barbaric, like Vitruvius's Persian slaves. Like the ancient sculptures of atlantes, they lift their arms and hands to sustain the Doric trabeation.⁷⁷ Their later use in Roman imperial art demonstrates that they were perceived as elements of a classical architecture (Fig. 55).⁷⁸ As a column-statue, the Moors recall the original function of the Doric column, which had once been made of wood and was the most robust and therefore apt to sustain bulky weights.⁷⁹ Like Vitruvius's Persians, the Moors wear tattered clothes and fill the beholder with fear (Fig. 37). Their complexion is moorish because blackness was an attribute of slavery.⁸⁰ As such, Longhena's Moors are reminiscent

⁷⁵ *I dieci libri* (1567), p. 15. For an analysis of Vitruvius's story, see Rykwert (1996), p. 129.

⁷⁶ Tesauro (1666), p. 281: '[...] *Barbarici* falciant *Atlantes*'.

⁷⁷ See illustrations in Schmidt-Colinet (1977), pp. 44-54, and Rykwert (1996), p. 132.

⁷⁸ Cornelius C. Vermeule III, 'Figural Pillars: From Asia Minor to Corinth to Rome', in *Corinthiana: Studies in Honor of Darrell A. Amyx*, ed. Mario del Chiaro (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), pp. 73-74.

⁷⁹ On Doric columns and robustness, see Gabriele Morolli, "'A quegli ideei silvestri". Interpretazione naturalistica, primato e dissoluzione dell'ordine architettonico nella teoria cinquecentesca sull'Opera Rustica', in *Natura e artificio. L'ordine rustico, le fontane, gli automi nella cultura del Manierismo europeo*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo (Rome: Officina, 1981), pp. 60-61.

⁸⁰ On blackness and slavery, see McGrath (2012), p. 9.

of late-antique statues representing enslaved kneeling Persians of *nero antico* marble supporting the classical buildings which celebrated the military victory of Roman emperors (Fig. 56).⁸¹ The contrast between the dark texture of the basanite on the Moors' limbs and the candid white Carrara marble of their clothes (Fig. 37) emphasises their condition as slaves, a form of spoils from the war of Candia, the Venetian dominion in the Mediterranean which Pesaro strenuously defended in fighting the Turks.⁸² Their modest tasks and low social status do not harmonise with the elegance of the sculptures which are shown in the higher register and enhance the aristocratic message of the doge's effigy, as Prati said: 'Brought to life in his regal throne, / the regal doge is supported by a plinth of Moors, / bowing under his genius, and not his bulk'.⁸³

Supporting statues representing male bodies were recurrent in funerary monuments.⁸⁴ In the Venetian setting, an important precedent of Longhena's telamones was Pietro Lombardo's monument to the naval captain Jacopo Marcello in the Frari (Fig. 59). They are displayed in a row and sustain Jacopo's enormous urn on their back. In Santi Giovanni e Paolo, three male supporting figures in the form of

⁸¹ Two statues now in the National Archaeological Museum in Naples represent kneeling Persians which originally supported a monument erected on the Palatine Hill in Rome to celebrate Roman victories over the Parthians in 20 BC. See Fig. 56 and Schmidt-Colinet (1977), p. 63.

⁸² The association between the Moors and the enemies enslaved in Candia was first noted by Da Mosto (2003), p. 397. See also Kaplan (2010), p. 186. Rona Goffen suggested that the Moors were also intended to recall Benedetto Pesaro's recapture of Santa Maura (Leucadia) from the Turks in 1502. A young black male figure was depicted by Titian in the *Pala Pesaro* in the Pesaro dal Carro Chapel of the Immaculate Conception. See Goffen (1986), p. 160. On the types of stone used in the Moors in the Pesaro monument, see De Grassi (1998), p. 126.

⁸³ Prati (1690a), p. 260: 'Sovra Soglio Regale a vita reso / Sostien base Africana il Regio Duce, / Aggravata dal Genio, e non dal peso'.

⁸⁴ The most ancient examples were neo-Punic funerary stelae dated half of the second century AD depicting telamones supporting a classical building with their heads (Fig. 57). Telamones bowing under their burden already appear in medieval sarcophagi such as that of Roger II, the king of Sicily, in the duomo of Palermo (Fig. 58).

warriors carry the cenotaph of Doge Pietro Mocenigo (Fig. 17).⁸⁵ In addition, similarly to other seventeenth-century representations of male supporting figures,⁸⁶ the Moors in the Pesaro monument are carrying cushions on their heads as a sort of buffer (Fig. 36a-b).⁸⁷ This builds on the Greek mythology of Apollodorus of Athens who recounted that Hercules persuaded Atlas to hold up the sky by placing a cushion on his head, and then left him with it.⁸⁸

By reinterpreting ancient column-statues and the iconography of slavery, Longhena's plinth of Moors emphasises the contrast between the Doric and Corinthian orders of the Pesaro monument both visually and metaphorically. Their seemingly tectonic and ceremonial function – the act of bearing the entablature by symbolically bowing under the doge's throne – enhances the rhetorical message of the monument as a sumptuous celebration of the values of nobility represented by Doge Giovanni Pesaro and the allegorical personifications surrounding his effigy. Thus the plinth of Moors also exemplifies the originality and the liveliness of the Pesaro monument, achieved through the interaction between the sculpture, the

⁸⁵ On the Mocenigo cenotaph, see Chapter One, Section 2, esp. pp. 50-51. Tomb monuments displaying telamonic figures were common also outside Venice and beyond. To name but a few, see Michele Sanmicheli's monument to the patrician Alessandro Contarini in the basilica of Sant'Antonio, Padua (1553-59), or Giulio Romano's tomb of Pietro Strozzi in Sant'Andrea in Mantua (1529).

⁸⁶ See for example the herms on the façade of San Raffaele in Milan (Fig. 105). I also found an intriguing representation of herculean telamones with turbans or clothes on their heads in Carlo Buzzzi's project proposal for the façade of the duomo of Milan. A view of the actual façade which was completed in the 19th century from the adjacent piazza gives an immediate idea of the contrast between the plinth of telamones in the lower register and the impressive bulk on their heads. Of course, there is no proof that Longhena was aware of that project proposal, although he was indeed involved in the completion of the façade. See below Chapter Four, Section 7, p. 208.

⁸⁷ The cushions depicted below the Doric frieze, in my view, reinterpreted the function of primitive capitals. As recalled by Leon Battista Alberti, the Dorians invented a support to be put between the columns and the architrave. They took a squared piece of wood and shaped it circularly with a lathe. Leon Battista Alberti, *L'architettura [De re aedificatoria]*, ed. Paolo Portoghesi, vol. 1 (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1966), p. 564.

⁸⁸ Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, II, 5, 11, quoted by McGrath (2012), p. 6, note 18.

architecture and the viewers. In order to further examine the way in which these are entwined with one another, it is necessary to return to Tesauro and Prati.

4. Speaking Marble, Moving Sculpture

Tesauro's explanation of the capacity of *argutezza* to revivify things is echoed by Prati in several lines of his poems. In fact, Prati uses figures of speech (especially metaphors) to equate the erection of the Pesaro monument with the process of revivification.⁸⁹ For example, at the beginning of the poem, Prati uses a classical analogy between sculptor and God to extol Le Court's capacity to carve images as lifelike as if they were alive: '[...] Who gave Daedalus's chisel illustrious norms / in order to cast animated forms?'⁹⁰ Here Prati describes Le Court as the chisel of Daedalus, whom Pliny credited with the invention of carpentry which sculpts animated forms capable of going beyond nature. It is evident that the classical *topos* of the artist demiurge is activated, in this instance, in order to underscore Le Court's ability to give sculptures life and motion. This analogy is just a pretext to praise Le Court as a divine sculptor capable of bringing "dead" stone back to life. Since the Renaissance, sculpting has been compared to a resuscitation process; just as God made the first man of clay, so too do sculptors bring their creations to life.⁹¹ This *topos*, which was described by Aristotle and later by Dante, received renewed attention in the Cinquecento when the metaphor of God the sculptor developed into

⁸⁹ The reference study on sculpture as a revivification process remains the seminal article by Michael Cole, 'Cellini's Blood', *Art Bulletin* 81/2 (1999), pp. 215-35.

⁹⁰ Prati (1690a), p. 258: '[...] Chi diè per far le stimulate forme / A Dedaleo scalpello inclite norme?'

⁹¹ Cole (1999), pp. 221-23.

the myth of the divine artist with Vasari's praise of Michelangelo in the *Vite*.⁹²

Later in the poem, Prati uses metaphors to celebrate both the victory of Art over Death through the erection of the Pesaro monument, and the triumph of Death which is evoked in the monument which celebrates itself and its victims. The more the sculptures of the monument gain their own life and therefore defeat Death, the more Death is pleased to be defeated because in this way it glorifies itself through the erection of the funerary monument. This complex interaction between life and death is evoked by Prati, especially in his fifth and sixth stanzas. Firstly, Prati points out that the marbles of the Pesaro monument are not living and moving because they are enchanted by the music of the Odrisian citharist to accompany his singing during the recital of a lyric poem.⁹³ As Prati clarifies in the next line, the marbles are alive because they are allured by 'the sound of an erudite hand', an allusion to the noise of hammer hitting chisel against stone during the execution of a sculpture.⁹⁴ Then, Prati observes that the founding of bronze to cast the two skeletons on the sides of the Pesaro monument (Fig. 36a-b) corresponds to the infusion of life.⁹⁵ In fact, the skeletons both represent a personification of a defeated Death, and a revivification of Death because they represent Death with such an extraordinary lifelikeness that they

⁹² As pointed out by Marco Collareta, 'Visibile parlare', *Prospettiva* 86 (1997), p. 103. For the *topos* of the *Deus artifex*, see Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz, *Legend, Myth, and Magic in the Image of the Artist. A Historical Experiment* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979, 2nd edition, first published 1934), pp. 38-60. For its reception in seventeenth-century panegyric ekphrasis, see Van Gastel (2013), pp. 29-30.

⁹³ Prati (1690a), p. 258: '[...] Non de l'Odrisio Citaredo à i carmi?'

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 258: '[...] Hebbero il moto gl'animati marmi / Trattati dal suon d'un'Erudita mano: / Che dare e senso, et anima à le pietre / Sà più un'Acciar, che melodia di Cetre?'

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 259. On moulding as a revivification from death to life, see Cole (1999), pp. 222-23, and Frits Scholten, 'Bronze, the Mythology of a Metal', in *Bronze: The Power of Life and Death* (exhibition catalogue, Henry Moore Institute, Leeds, 15 September 2005 – 7 January 2006), ed. Martina Droth et al. (Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 2005), pp. 20-35.

look alive.⁹⁶ Finally, Prati notes that the funerary eulogy inscribed in the drapes held by the skeletons eternalises the deeds of the doge, and therefore contributes to rendering his celebration immortal: '[...] Libitina [Death] opens with ice-cold hands a huge volume / which eternalises the deeds of the valiant hero; / small wonder that the actions of such an Adriatic luminary / are eternalised in the stone through everlasting words, / what a marvel it is that the doge comes to life here again!' ⁹⁷ Thus, it is clear that the Pesaro monument is a memorial of both the triumph of Death and the defeat of Death through the creation of life.

The entangled interaction between life and death as Prati describes it recalls Ivanovich's comments on *argutezza* as the quality thanks to which everything receives life, force, spirit and movement.⁹⁸ As we have already seen, Tesauro analyses *argutezza* in relation to metaphors, and conceives metaphors as figures of speech that playfully deceive the reader by bringing him or her to mistake one thing for another.⁹⁹ Both the revivification of sculpture and the deceit of the viewer are evoked in Prati's poem when he describes the statues which are displayed above the Doric entablature of the Pesaro monument (Fig. 39). In particular, in the eighth stanza, Prati encourages the reader/onlooker to observe the pair of dragons on the front of the sarcophagus (Fig. 40).¹⁰⁰ Prati observes that the statues of the dragons

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 259: '[...] Ma come d'ambo i lati in egual sito / Spande i vanni la Morte, e in volto eterno / Dielle spirto di bronzo il Fabro ardito, / Che volle, in onta del sepolto Averno, / Inchiodarla à una balza; e far, che priva / Libitina de' sensi, e spiri, e viva'.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 259: '[...] Apre con man gelata ampio volume, / In cui del prode Eroe le gesta eterna; / Ma pur non sia stupor, ch'Adriaco Nume / Viva ne' marmi, et immortal si scerna, / Ma far (sommò stupor) del Duce Forte / Immortale il gran Nome in man di Morte!'

⁹⁸ See above Section 2 in this chapter.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Prati (1690a), p. 259.

are so lifelike and terrifying that they frighten the observer: '[...] Raise your gaze, and you will see the paired dragons / intent on guarding the treasure of the urn [the doge's corpse]. / This terrifying image is so lifelike / that it fills our soul with dread'.¹⁰¹ At this point, the breath of the astounded viewer infuses life into the dragons which in this way 'breathe' and 'live': '[...] and while our breath is fixated upon the dragon, / the dragon lives a life that is not its own thanks to the breath of other people'.¹⁰² A similar impression is also evoked in the next stanza where Prati describes the personification of *Ingenuity* (Fig. 60). In the text, *Ingenuity* is described as a warrior from the island of Delos (Greece) who is shooting an arrow against Artemis (in Prati's words, 'Cynthia'), the goddess of hunting.¹⁰³ Once again, Prati's intention is to underline the lifelikeness of the sculpture representing *Ingenuity* and its impact on the viewer: the personification of *Ingenuity* and the action of shooting the arrow are in fact so realistic that they surprise even Jupiter, the father of Artemis.¹⁰⁴

The personification of *Ingenuity* in the Pesaro monument is represented by a winged male figure with an eagle above his head and is shooting an arrow which is now missing from the monument (Fig. 60). Paola Rossi clarified that its iconography corresponds to the personification of *Ingenuity* described by Cesare Ripa in his *Iconologia*.¹⁰⁵ Nonetheless, there is also another source of inspiration of this allegorical

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 259: '[...] Ergi il guardo, e vedrai gemino Drago / Vegliar de l'urna al gran Tesoro intento; / E sì viva è lassù l'orrida immago, / Che c'infonde ne l'Alma alto Spavento'.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 259: '[...] E mentre l'aura à vaneggiar v'è in lui. / Vive ei vita non sua co i fiati altrui'.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 259: '[...]Quindi vogliendo curioso il guardo, / Veggo stringere in mano Arco di Delo / Guerrier, che teso à le vendette il dardo / Rivuolto è à saettar Cinthia nel Cielo'.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 259: '[...] Vivo così, ch'è l'armi sue [of *Ingenuity*] improvise / Strinse il fulmine Giove, indi sen rise'.

¹⁰⁵ Rossi (1990), p. 86. That Le Court was inspired by Ripa is documented by the rediscovery of a terracotta model and a preparatory drawing of the personification, as observed by Massimo De Grassi

figure in terms of attitude, that is, the archer depicted by Paolo Veronese on the wall of the right nave of San Sebastiano in 1558.¹⁰⁶ Observing the posture of *Ingenuity* and comparing it to Veronese's archer, it is possible to recognise that both figures share a similar attitude (Figs 60-61): the grave expression concentrated on shooting the arrow; the bended right knee protruding towards the onlooker; the contracted body tensed in stretching the bow; and finally their arms, one outstretched and the other bent. The idea of depicting an archer pointing an arrow at a spot outside the Pesaro monument also enhances the physical interconnection between the monument and the surrounding space in the Frari basilica, and enlivens the dynamism of the Pesaro monument in catching the viewer's attention.

Both in the Pesaro monument and in Prati's poem, the revivification of sculpture and the deceit of the viewer reach their peak in the effigy of the doge and in the Latin inscription on the sarcophagus (Fig. 40). At this point Prati goes even beyond the metaphor of sculpture as the revivification of stone, thereby introducing a further concept: the petrification of the beholder as a consequence of the persuasive power of sculpture. Describing the gorgon shield which is held by the personification of *Constancy* in the Pesaro monument, Prati says that 'A wise chisel gave him a living spirit / But the petrified appearance of Medusa, which is engraved / On Pallas's shield, stops him in his tracks and turns him into stone'.¹⁰⁷ The power of sculpture

and Simone Guerriero. See De Grassi (1998), pp. 124-27; Simone Guerriero, 'Un disegno di Giusto Le Court nella collezione Certani', *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 27 (2003), pp. 251-53.

¹⁰⁶ On Veronese's archer, see Terisio Pignatti and Filippo Pedrocco, *Veronese*, vol. 1 (Milan: Electa, 1995), p. 119.

¹⁰⁷ Prati (1690a), p. 259: '[...] Che ben spirito gli diè saggio scarpello: / Ma di Medusa il rigido semblante, / Che nel braccio di Palla inciso stassi / Gl'arresta il piede, e lo trasforma in sassi'.

to petrify the beholder is here compared to the myth of Medusa, whose gaze could turn the onlooker into stone.¹⁰⁸ As Prati clarifies, the petrification of the viewer is absolutely metaphorical. It recalls 'Tesauro's remarks on *argutezza* as paralogism.¹⁰⁹ 'The more the sculpture is aesthetically appealing and realistic, the more it seduces the viewer, as Prati says: '[...] In front of this delightful deception you stop in your tracks and stand around in a daze / because if the noble monument is not alive, / one doesn't know whether it is the fault of art or of nature'.¹¹⁰

The revivification of sculpture and interaction with the onlooker also occurs on a textual level, and specifically in the Latin epigraphs which are displayed in the Pesaro monument (Figs 36a-b, 40). The beholder is in fact exhorted to dwell and reflect on the Latin inscriptions which comment on the meaning of the sculptures. The Latin inscriptions exaggerate the traditional commemorative function of epigraphs in funerary monuments by solemnly proclaiming that the monument has been erected in memory of Giovanni Pesaro. The two epigraphs in the lower order of the monument record the date of death of the doge on the right ('he died in 1659', Fig. 36b) and his age at the time of death on the left ('he lived seventy years', Fig. 36a).¹¹¹ The elegant Latin inscription in relief on the sarcophagus reading 'He came to life here again in 1669' (Fig. 40) summarises the message of Pesaro's sculpted portrait as

¹⁰⁸ For the myth of Medusa in the figurative arts, see John Shearman, *Only Connect... Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 48-49. Cf. also Van Gastel (2013), pp. 37 and 200.

¹⁰⁹ See above Section 2 in this chapter, esp. pp. 90-91.

¹¹⁰ Prati (1690a), p. 258: '[...] 'E'l cerchi in van, ch'attonito ne stai! S'ad inganno gentil sospendi i passi. Che se viva non è l'alta scultura, non sa s'arte ne manchi, over natura'.

¹¹¹ 'DEVIXIT ANNO MDCLIX'; 'VIXIT ANNOS LXX'.

a revivification of the doge.¹¹² The function of these epigraphs as a commentary upon the images represented in the monument was recalled by Tesauro. As previously mentioned, Tesauro composed the Latin inscriptions and the funerary eulogy shown in the Pesaro monument.¹¹³ In the *Cannocchiale aristotelico*, Tesauro argues that the so-called *argutezza lapidaria* consists in ‘eulogies, epitaphs, dedications, epigrams, titles, mottoes, and any other kind of inscriptions’ inscribed or engraved with ‘eternal letters’.¹¹⁴ The Latin inscriptions of the Pesaro monument address the required brevity, clarity and rhetorical potency of the ‘witty inscriptions’ (‘iscrizioni lapidarie argute’) referred to by Tesauro and generally related to Baroque epigraphy.¹¹⁵

The analysis of the inscriptions in the Pesaro monument sheds light on the way in which the iconographic programme was interpreted by Longhena and on the iconographic sources that he and Tesauro consulted to conceive the monument. In fact, scholars have observed that Baroque epigraphy was inspired by collections of engravings, illustrated frontispieces, printed illustrations of memorial plaques, or prints recording ephemeral festive apparatuses.¹¹⁶ Major centres of production included Rome, Florence and Venice. The format and design of seventeenth-century compilations of these inscriptions were praised by Tesauro in his *Cannocchiale*

¹¹² ‘HIC REVIXIT ANNO MDCLXIX’.

¹¹³ See above, p. 80.

¹¹⁴ Tesauro (1670), p. 11: ‘[...] se tu le scrivi [the *argutezza*], et se le incidi con caratteri eterni, negli *Eloggi*, *Epitaffi*, *Dedicationi*, *Epigrammi*, *Titoli*, *Motti brevi*, et in ogni sorte d’*Inscriptioni*: formano l’*Argutia Lapidaria*’.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 9-11 and 595-610. Armando Petrucci listed the novelties of Baroque epigraphy. See Armando Petrucci, ‘La scrittura tra ideologia e rappresentazione’, in *Storia dell’arte italiana*, ed. Giulio Bollati et al., vol. 9 (Turin: Einaudi, 1980), p. 38.

¹¹⁶ Petrucci (1980), pp. 49-50.

aristotelico and also had pride of place in the libraries of seventeenth-century intellectuals.¹¹⁷ It is also worthwhile observing that the Pesaro monument can be considered to be one of the major seventeenth-century Venetian monuments that incorporate Baroque commemorative epigraphy.¹¹⁸ In fact, the inscriptions are arranged in various areas of the monument, and the two inscribed drapes held by the skeletons in the lower order are displayed on surfaces which imitate sheets or drapes (Fig. 36a-b). The Pesaro monument was among the first Venetian funerary monuments to include epigraphs written on this support. Longhena had already dealt with Latin inscriptions on marmoreal drapes when he devised monuments to Orazio Farnese and Almerico d'Este in 1666, both of which displayed draperies of inscribed marble on a Doric frieze.¹¹⁹ This typology of commemorative inscription achieved considerable success in Venice and Rome in the seventeenth century.¹²⁰ A remarkable precedent was Bernini's monument to Pope Urban VIII in the Vatican (Fig. 49).¹²¹

The Latin inscriptions on the Pesaro monument (Figs 36a-b, 40), excluding the inscribed drapes held by the skeletons, show characters of marble on the sarcophagus and the chalcedonic slabs in the lower register. The letters are in relief, capitalised, and stand out on the black surface with a bright contrast. Their style is ornate and is designed according to a letter style which was widespread in the

¹¹⁷ As observed in *ibid.*, p. 50.

¹¹⁸ On Baroque epigraphy, with just a brief mention of the Pesaro monument, see *ibid.*, pp. 37-46.

¹¹⁹ On the Farnese and d'Este monuments, see below p. 127 and Figs 69-70.

¹²⁰ Petrucci (1980), p. 45.

¹²¹ For further examples executed before and after the Pesaro monument, see *ibid.*, p. 42.

Venetian typography of the seventeenth century.¹²² They reappear with few variations in Marco Beltrame's monument to Cristoforo Ivanovich in San Moisè (Fig. 62), which was partially inspired by Longhena's Pesaro monument. The overall effect of the Latin inscriptions of the Pesaro monument was a novelty. Their epigraphic style represented a decisive progress on the commemorative inscriptions generally shown on simple slabs of white marble.

Similar observations can also be made for the drapes which display the funerary eulogy on the Pesaro monument (Fig. 36a-b). The eloquence of the eulogy encourages the onlooker to interact with the monument. It summarises the biography of Giovanni Pesaro and extols his deeds before, during, and after his dogate. Some lines of the eulogy also evoke Pesaro's virtues, which are embodied by the personifications above the Doric entablature. An allusion to the personifications of *Constancy* and *Religion* is in the drape held by the skeleton on the right (Fig. 36b).¹²³ The invocation of religion and constancy was a homage to the firmness shown by Giovanni Pesaro during his peroration to the senate in 1658. In this memorable speech, the doge invoked constancy and religion to prevent the Venetian territory of Candia from being captured by the Turks.¹²⁴ Moreover, Ivanovich described *Constancy* and *Religion* in his manuscript, as well as in Tesauro's original version of the eulogy.¹²⁵

¹²² For this letter style, see Petrucci (1980), p. 44.

¹²³ 'PRO HEROICA TESSERA CONSTANTIA ATQUE RELIGIO'.

¹²⁴ The event is recorded by the historiographer Battista Nani, *Historia della repubblica veneta di Battista Nani cavaliere e Procuratore di San Marco* (Venetia: Combi et La Noù, 1679), vol. 2, pp. 466-70. See also Cozzi (1986), pp. 156-57, Rossi (1990), p. 86, and Da Mosto (2003), p. 397.

¹²⁵ BCV, MS Cicogna 384, f. 54v: 'Per la sua implacabile hostilità contro l Hoste [sic] infedele improntò nelle sue monete la Religione e la Costanza per la sua Impresa Eroica. [...] A che alludono

The allegorical personifications which are displayed on the Pesaro monument can be construed as a Baroque evolution of the personifications of Virtues which had appeared in Renaissance tomb monuments. In a time when funerary monuments acted as instruments of social legitimation, allegorical personifications exemplified the moral or religious qualities of the deceased, which were considered to be worthy of being praised through eternal images. In the Pesaro monument, the personifications recall and amplify this function and substantiate the significance of the entire monument. Arranged in pairs between the Corinthian columns and in a row in front on the Doric entablature, they are attributes of the aristocratic image Giovanni Pesaro wished to have of himself. The virtues of the doge recalled by the funerary eulogy are not only shown in the monument, but were also extolled in other eulogies which were composed by various writers and poets in his honour.¹²⁶ The style and the language of these texts, as well as the eulogy inscribed in the Pesaro monument, is highly evocative. By reading these texts the reader is encouraged to create a mental picture of the doge's virtues, which are both evoked by the text and visualised in the monument. Therefore, the interaction between text and image that characterises both the funerary eulogy and other compositions praising Pesaro enhances the dialectic between eloquent words and commemorative images. As a

le due statue [...] ch'al fianco destro della statua del Principe nestanno abbracciate', cit. in Rossi (1990), pp. 86-87; Tesauo (1666), p. 283.

¹²⁶ Most notably, Alessandro Maria Vianoli, *Panegirico nell'elezione del Serenissimo Principe di Venetia Giovanni Pesari* (Venezia: Pietro Pinelli, 1658); Cristoforo Ivanovich, 'Il sole all'ocaso. Nella Morte Del Serenissimo Giovanni Pesaro', in *Poesie di Cristoforo Ivanovich. Con l'aggiunta di varie lettere di Proposta, e Riposta, e della Fenice Panegirico alla memoria del gran Lazzerò Mocenigo* (Venezia: Giovanni Battista Catani, 1675, hereafter referred to as Ivanovich, 1675a), p. 145; Casimir Freschot, *La nobiltà veneta* (Venetia: Giovanni Gabriel Hertz, 1707, 2nd edition, first published 1682), p. 393.

result of this interaction, the funerary eulogy shown in the monument is not only descriptive, but it also invites the reader to actively participate in the reading of the texts and the observation of the images.

In terms of iconography, it is likely that the drapes containing the funerary eulogy in the Pesaro monument (Figs 36a-b) were inspired by ephemeral architecture, as well as by eulogies inscribed in marmoreal surfaces imitating sheets or drapes. For example, for the funeral rites of Victor Amadeus I, the Duke of Savoy, the façade of Turin cathedral was covered with a funerary apparatus (Fig. 63), which presented interesting analogies with the Pesaro monument. Luigi Giuglaris (1607-53), a Jesuit and orator who was born in France and educated in Turin and Milan, devised the cenotaph and described it in a commemorative volume.¹²⁷ In the cenotaph, four skeletons in guise of telamones bear inscribed gravestones. Two smaller epigraphs are displayed in the architrave and a longer inscription evoking a *memento mori* is exhibited above the portal, incorporating a winged skull as a keystone. Although there is no proof that Tesauro saw this apparatus, he undoubtedly devised the iconographic programme of another work akin to the Pesaro monument, that is, the funerary monument to the Marquis Francesco Villa in San Sebastiano, Ferrara. This monument is conspicuous for its marmoreal skeletons which sustain the pediment like two telamones (Fig. 64). At the centre of the lower register, a large slab of marble which resembles a commemorative plaque displays the funerary eulogy. Although the

¹²⁷ Luigi Giuglaris, *Funerale fatto nel duomo di Torino alla gloriosa memoria dell'invittissimo, e potentissimo principe Vittorio Amedeo* (Torino: Giovanni Domenico Tarino, 1638), p. 11. On Giuglaris, see Andrea Merlotti, entry *Giuglaris, Luigi*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (hereafter cited as DBI, vol. 56 (2001), pp. 685-87.

style and characters of the Latin inscription are less elegant compared to those of the Pesaro monument, the eulogy extols Francesco's exploits, among which were his appointment as Venetian ambassador and his involvement in the siege of Candia in 1669.¹²⁸ Thus, it is clear that the epigraphic style which was devised by Tesauro and displayed in the Pesaro monument was partially influenced by inscriptions from Baroque ephemeral architecture, as well as funerary monuments displaying a marked resemblance to the Pesaro monument.

In conclusion, it is evident that the complexity of the Pesaro monument goes beyond its architecture and iconography. As my analysis has demonstrated, the monument solicits the involvement of the viewer as a fundamental actor who both comprehends and completes the message of the monument. At the same time, the invocation of *topoi* and metaphors to describe the statues of the monument and their effect on the viewer corresponds to one ultimate intent: namely, the reinvention of the Pesaro monument in seventeenth-century panegyric poetry.

5. Beyond Laudatory Poems: Panegyric Ekphrasis and the Reinvention of the Pesaro Monument

The formulae Prati utilised to describe the Pesaro monument are late seventeenth-century adaptations of commonplaces within the evaluation of sculpture

¹²⁸ Francesco Ghiron Villa (1613-70) was born in Turin and spent most of his life in the duchy of Savoy and in the dominion of the Venetian republic as a diplomatic and military commander. He is most recorded for his posts of *Generale di cavalleria* for the House of Savoy and commander of the Venetian troops during the war of Candia where he collaborated with Captain Caterino Cornaro. His rivalry with Captain Antonio Barbaro was particularly notable. For a biography, see Luigi Ughi, *Dizionario storico degli uomini illustri ferraresi* (Ferrara: Giuseppe Rinaldi, 1804), vol. 2, pp. 218-19. On his funerary monument, see Giuseppe Borghini, *Memorie dell'inclita famiglia delli signori marchesi Villa* (Ferrara: Giglio, 1680), pp. 358-63.

and painting.¹²⁹ It is noteworthy that other seventeenth-century poets resorted to the same formulae when they alluded to the Pesaro monument in panegyric poetry. In this section I will focus on a selection of these poems to better assess the way in which the monument was perceived by seventeenth-century viewers. As is the case with Prati's, these poems also transcend any description of the monuments celebrated. They reinvent the work and provide insights into the viewer's response to the images and how the monument could arouse emotions or stimulate intellectual digressions on the persuasive power of architecture and sculpture.

The first admirer of the Pesaro monument is Ivanovich. In a poem published in 1675, Ivanovich describes an imaginary monument celebrating Doge Giovanni Pesaro.¹³⁰ In the first stanza, Ivanovich observes that Roman obelisks are not enough to pay due tribute to the great doge. However, as Ivanovich makes clear, the doge is invited to bow before 'awe-striking ruins' which both 'lapidate' and 'crush' his fame: 'Latin obelisks, fall down to the ground! / Majestic ruins, collapse into the earth's grassy bosom! / Bow before this awe-striking stone / which lapidates and crushes your renown!'¹³¹ Then, in the second stanza, Ivanovich explains that the monument erected in memory of Pesaro not only carries the essence of the Roman past, but also even transcends it. Ivanovich in fact resorts to the classical comparison with the Roman republic, where people used to quarry marble from the Haemus Mons in Thrace (present-day Balkan mountains, Bulgaria) to honour Caesar and

¹²⁹ Cf. Baxandall (1971), p. 51.

¹³⁰ Cristoforo Ivanovich, 'Mausoleo Drizzato a Sua Serenità, In Venezia nella Chiesa di Frari', in *Poesie di Cristoforo Ivanovich* (1675, hereafter referred to as Ivanovich, 1675b), p. 31.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 31: 'Obelischi latini itene a terra, / Maestose Ruine in seno erboso; / Questo inchinate Voi stupor sassoso, / Che lapidando, il vostro nome atterra'.

Pompey.¹³² Finally, in the last two stanzas, Ivanovich observes that only the most ingenious thoughts and the works of most exceptional craftsmanship are adequate to honour Pesaro:

More ingenious ideas extolled the great Pesaro
Causing art to toil away at the bulk of the stone
And bringing to a halt the petrified course of the years.

Made eloquent by the enlivening chisel,
He [the sculptor] shows you the sun of the world
Buried here in the Adriatic Sea among illustrious glories.¹³³

At a glance, the significance of the last two stanzas is mainly encomiastic. No doubt Ivanovich resorts to the metaphor of the monument as a device to immortalise the sculpted image of the doge, which is well expressed in the line ‘bringing to a halt the petrified course of the years’ (‘starsi impietrìto il variar de’ lustri’). Although certainly laudatory, the poem is a celebration of sculpture and architecture in terms which are specific to seventeenth-century art theory. Ivanovich touches on three fundamental points: art, ingenuity and the chisel as an instrument for expressing artistic originality. The combination of these three factors is explained through Ivanovich's recourse to the dualism *ars* and *ingenium* as it was theorised in classical rhetoric.¹³⁴ The expression

¹³² Ibid.: ‘Per Cesare, e Pompei, se in Pace, e in guerra, / Già Roma sviscerò l’Emo nevoso; / Per dar lustro di Paro al più pomposo / Marmo, che dalle vene ampie disserra’.

¹³³ Ibid.: ‘Al gran Pesaro Fasto Idee più industri / Fecer, l’Arte sudar marmoreo al pondo, / Starsi impietrìto il variar de’ lustri. / Ei dal Ferro vital reso facondo; / Qui nell’Adriatico mar fra vanti illustri, / Vi dimostra sepolto il Sol del Mondo’.

¹³⁴ For this topic, see Philip Sohm, *Style in the Art Theory of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), esp. pp. 62-74. On *ars* and *ingenium* as humanistic critical categories, see Baxandall (1971), p. 74, and Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (Stockholm:

of ‘ingenious ideas’ (‘Idee più industri’) refers to *ingenium* conceived as ingenuity: an intellectual gift, or one’s individual talent.¹³⁵ Accordingly, the line which reads ‘causing art to toil away at the bulk of the stone’ (‘l’Arte sudar marmoreo al pondo’) is an allusion to art as *techne*, that is, to the practical precepts that can be transmitted to and learned by an architect, an orator, a poet etc.¹³⁶ *Ars* and *Ingenium* are two sides of the same coin: they need to be equally exercised in order to make a sculpture (or poem, speech, sculpture etc.) original and persuasive.¹³⁷ What is interesting here, however, is that Ivanovich resolves the dualism *ars/ingenium* by celebrating the chisel as a key part of the artist’s means of expression. The poem’s fourth stanza, beginning with the line ‘Made [the doge’s statue] eloquent by the enlivening chisel’ (‘Ei dal Ferro vital reso facondo’) alludes to the chisel as a tool which creates a persuasive image and ultimately revivifies it.¹³⁸ Therefore, thanks to his technical competence (*ars, techne*) and intellectual skills (*ingenium*), sculptors harness the stone and execute an artefact of compelling rhetorical power (‘facondo’). Ivanovich goes even further: not only does the chisel express originality; it even revivifies dead things, thereby instilling new life in the effigy of the doge.

Indeed, Ivanovich echoes Prati when he hints at sculpture being a revivification process. This *topos* had a singular critical fortune in seventeenth-century Venice and it

Almqvist and Wiksell, 1960), pp. 10-18.

¹³⁵ Sohm (2001), p. 64.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 64.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 64.

¹³⁸ On the tools of artists as means to convey artistic expression, see Nicola Suthor, “‘Il pennello artificioso’: On the Intelligence of the Brushstroke”, in *Instruments in Art and Science. On the Architectonics of Cultural Boundaries in the 17th Century*, ed. Helmar Schramm et al. (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 106-26. By the same author, see also the more recent monograph *Bravura: Virtuosität und Mutwilligkeit in der Malerei der frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2010).

also has pride of place in other poems which celebrate the sculptors who were involved in the execution of the Pesaro monument. Worth considering is a poem in honour of Melchior Barthel, the German sculptor who executed the personifications of *Religion and Constancy*, and *Truth and Justice*. In this poem, the Florentine poet and painter Sebastiano Mazzoni resorts to a metaphor to denote the twofold meaning of the term ‘iron’ – (‘ferro’), which means both “chisel” and “sword” – to describe the lifelikeness of Barthel’s sculptures: ‘You seem to do works beyond nature, / Let others give death with their iron [the sword], / While you give life to marble with your iron [the chisel]’.¹³⁹ Nonetheless, when Mazzoni extols Barthel’s chisel, he implies that the sculptor’s manual expertise is governed by intellect. Without it, the chisel would remain simply a tool deprived of any artistic potential. In other words, Mazzoni makes the duality *ars/ingenium* explicit: in order to produce originality, the chisel must be governed by human intellect and appropriate manual skills. As Nicola Suthor observes, ‘the development of expert knowledge, by the use of the instrument, creates a close bond between body and instrument’.¹⁴⁰ The ‘alliance hand-intellect’, as Suthor defines it, is illustrated by the concept of *bravura* (competence or ability), which took root in seventeenth-century art theory.¹⁴¹ Mazzoni also underscores this *topos* in a poem in honour of Le Court: ‘May it please you / that I become the mute

¹³⁹ Sebastiano Mazzoni, ‘Al signor Melchior Barthel Scultor Celeberrimo Tedesco’, in id., *Il tempo perduto. Scherzi sconcertati di Sebastiano Mazzoni pittore* (Venetia: Valvasense, 1661), p. 65: ‘Opre sopra natura operar parmi, / Che altri co’l Ferro altrui morte dia, E tu col Ferro sai dar vita a i Marmi’. Sebastiano Mazzoni (1611-78) was a great exponent of the synergy between literature and painting in seventeenth-century Venice. On Mazzoni, see the introductory essays by Massimiliano Rossi and Marco Leone in Sebastiano Mazzoni, *«La pittura guerriera» e altri versi sull’arte* (Verona: Cierre, 2008), pp. vii-xxxiv.

¹⁴⁰ Suthor (2008), p. 124.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 113.

admirer / of your art that infuses breath into the stone / by leaving it to an immortal pen to celebrate you!”¹⁴² In the poem, the expression ‘your art’ (‘di tua virtù’) evokes the combination of skilfulness and creativity, which makes an image pleasurable and allows a sculptor to achieve praise and fame.

In sum, analysis of panegyric poems in honour of Giovanni Pesaro and the sculptors of the Pesaro monument provides insights into the reception of that monument in relation to seventeenth-century modes of viewing. Although these poems do not always provide information on the iconography of the monument they evoke, they clarify its interpretation by describing the viewer’s response. The most prominent aspect of these poems is the exaggeration of the capacity of art to infuse life by erecting monuments and sculpting statues. The classical *topos* of the divine artist is revived in these poems, alongside the admiration of the artist’s bravura. The union of manual skills with ingenious ideas results in the creation of eternal monuments which transcend nature.

* * *

This chapter has focused on Longhena’s Pesaro monument in relation to Emanuele Tesauro, Baroque art theory and visual rhetoric. A comparative reading of the monument and ekphrastic poetry has shed light on the execution and reception of

¹⁴² Sebastiano Mazzoni, ‘Al Signor Giusto Decurt Scultor Celeberrimo Fiamengo’, in Mazzoni (1661), p. 64: ‘Di tua Virtù che infonde spirto a i sassi; / Gradisci ch’io sia muto Ammiratore, / E che esaltarti a Penn’eterna io lassì’.

the monument and on the classical *topos* of the living image. Tesauro's involvement in devising the iconographic programme and its explanation by Cristoforo Ivanovich provides a conceptual framework with which we can comprehend the rhetorical significance of the monument as a whole. Because of the intense likeness and interaction between sculpture and architecture, the monument becomes a rhetorical device which persuades the beholder and urges him or her to show reverence to the doge. Ultimately, there is a fundamental reason why the Pesaro monument was perceived as so impressive: as the motto on the scroll held by the keystone putto indicates, this monument is both an eternal form of praise to the achievements of the doge, and an extremely compelling image of the potentiality of art for self-celebratory reasons.

Besides visual rhetoric, the scrutiny of the Pesaro monument has allowed us to reconsider different aspects of Longhena's architecture in a new light. The interpretation of the work as an "animated monument" that creates a dialogue with the beholder is a demonstration of Tesauro's theory of *argutezza*. An analysis of the architectural framework of the monument has demonstrated how Longhena revisited the traditional triumphal arch structure to accentuate the dialectic between sculpture and architecture and reinforce the rhetorical message of the monument. The interaction between architecture and sculpture is especially impactful in the contrast between the sculptures which are displayed in the lower and upper registers. The Moors reinterpret ancient male supporting statues, add dynamism and amplify the aristocratic message of the monument. The allegorical personifications are attributes

of the patrician values represented by the doge, which collide with the barbaric telamones in the lower register. The extraordinary likeness of Giusto Le Court's statue of the doge aggrandised him on a par with a monarch and instilled life and motion in his effigy. Finally, the funerary eulogies renovated the conventional set of commemorative epigraphs and updated them to the novel features of Baroque epigraphy. Their recondite prosody helps to clarify the meaning of the monument and corroborates its function as a "speaking marble".

The Pesaro monument did not go unnoticed. Its aristocratic message was taken as a model by a generation of patricians who saw funerary monuments as an opportunity to aggrandise their status. In addition, the interplay between architecture and sculpture influenced the design of some major Venetian tomb monuments. The following chapters will investigate the legacy of Longhena's Pesaro monument and its impact on the celebrative imagery of Venetian nobles and commanders in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Chapter Three

The Critical Reception of Longhena's Pesaro Tomb: Monuments to Captains and War Heroes

A significant number of funerary monuments which were erected in seventeenth-century Venice were in honour of war heroes. The number of these monuments increased towards the second half of the century: Venice's military campaigns in Candia and Morea increased the demand for lavish tombs to commemorate the memorable exploits of patricians who had died on the battlefield or who had returned unbeaten to Venice to receive military honours. Funerary monuments in honour of war heroes were not a novelty. In Venice, these monuments were part of a long-standing tradition which dates back to at least the fourteenth century. The reasons why seventeenth-century monuments are so important, therefore, must be found in their architectural structure, in the novel way in which architecture interacts with sculpture and the beholder, and in the way in which these monuments became emblematic of the heroism of Venetian captains.

Another factor which contributed to the innovative nature of these monuments was the influence of the Pesaro monument and the theme of self-celebration it stages in such a novel manner. A stunning feature of that monument is the affirmation of a secular and patrician form of celebration, which is magnificently conveyed through

the doge's figure and the architectural framework. The combination of originality and visual grandiloquence in the Pesaro monument can be considered as a point of departure to help us to better understand the celebration of Venetian captains and citizens as it took shape in the second half of the seventeenth century. It should also be noted that Longhena was not the only architect who was involved in the design of these monuments. To be sure, major contributions to Venetian architecture were also made by foreign architects and sculptors who migrated to Venice from Lombardy and the Ticino, the southern canton of Switzerland.¹ These architects were recruited by powerful patrician families to decorate sumptuous palaces and devise funerary monuments.² Among these architects were Antonio and Giuseppe Sardi. Hailing from Morcote, a village on the lake of Lugano, the Sardi were among the most important architects who were active in seventeenth-century Venice (after Longhena) and the authors of prestigious monuments which were executed in collaboration with Le Court.³

In addition to architecture, celebratory rhetoric also played a fundamental role. As my analysis of early seventeenth-century Venetian ducal monuments in Chapter One has demonstrated, the performance, career, and success of the patricians who served the state was regarded with great importance. The concept of service to the state became more important as a result of the publication in 1672 and 1673 of two important compilations of eulogies dedicated to the life and actions of Venetian

¹ For an overview of the oeuvre of these architects, see Rossi (1995), pp. 120-48 and Paola Piffaretti, *Giuseppe Sardi architetto ticinese nella Venezia del Seicento* (Bellinzona: Salvioni, 1996), pp. 16-20.

² Ibid., p. 17.

³ On Antonio and Giuseppe Sardi, see Carlo Palumbo Fossati, *Gli architetti del Seicento Antonio e Giuseppe Sardi e il loro ambiente* (Bellinzona: Salvioni, 1988), and Piffaretti (1996).

patricians: Giacomo Fiorelli's *Detti e fatti memorabili del Senato, e patritii veneti* (1672) and Marco Trevisan's, *Pompe funebri* (1673).⁴ These books were concerned with delineating an idealistic set of moral principles which were considered to be part of the code of honour of the Venetian patriciate. Some of the eulogies in these books also focused on the theme of death and on the new attention it was receiving as an instrument of glorification. Through close analysis of these sources, this chapter will clarify the way in which the concepts discussed in these books provided the rhetorical background for the monuments under consideration.

This chapter will also focus on the main funerary monuments of Venetian captains which were erected after the Pesaro monument and their relation to the *topos* of the living image. In order to best explore how this relationship works, I will concentrate on two contrasting case studies: Longhena's monument to Captain Caterino Cornaro in Sant'Antonio, Padua (Figs 65-66); and Giuseppe Sardi's façade of Santa Maria del Giglio which incorporates a monument to Captain Antonio Barbaro and his family (Fig. 75).

Caterino Cornaro died on the battlefield and his death was immediately extolled as a sacrifice which had been necessary for the preservation of Venice. My analysis of this monument will reconsider how the defence of the Republic was still perceived as a fundamental duty which was worthy of commemoration in funerary monuments. In addition, the involvement of Le Court in the execution of the sculptures of this

⁴ Giacomo Fiorelli, *Detti e fatti memorabili del Senato, e patritii veneti* (Venetia: Combi e La Noù, 1672); Marco Trevisan, *Pompe funebri celebrate da Marco Trivisano* (Venetia: Zatta, 1673). For a profile of these authors, see Raines (2006), pp. 341-62.

monument, its reception in panegyric literature as an animated image, and finally the similarity between some of its sculptures and the Pesaro monument, will provide us with the most suitable case study to assess the persistence of the celebratory mode which was exemplified in the Pesaro monument in the second half of the seventeenth century.

The façade of Santa Maria del Giglio incorporates the dynastic monument which was commissioned by Antonio Barbaro in 1678. In contrast to the merely commemorative function of the Cornaro monument, here the rhetoric of sacrifice was exploited to aggrandise Antonio Barbaro as a Christian soldier and to reinvigorate the prestige of his family. In my analysis, I will firstly contextualise this monument within a new genre of monuments, the so-called “commemorative façades”.⁵ Then, I will concentrate on the religious and cultural framework of the façade, thereby demonstrating the ways in which it can be considered a pivotal component in the dynastic and self-celebration of Antonio Barbaro.

1. The Commemorative Monument to Caterino Cornaro: from Ethos to Rhetoric

Caterino Cornaro (1624-69) was one of the greatest commanders in seventeenth-century Venice. Born in Venice into the prestigious Cornaro family – the same family branch as Caterina, the queen of Cyprus, who was born in 1454 – Caterino had been appointed *Provveditore generale da Mar* in Candia in 1668. At that time, the situation in Candia was desperate: Venice was struggling to survive its

⁵ For the concept of the “commemorative façade”, see above pp. 14-15.

conflict with the Ottoman Empire, and although Caterino appealed to the Venetian senate to increase military supplies, his efforts were in vain. In 1669, Caterino was killed by a bomb explosion while he was defending the bastion of Sant'Andrea in Candia. His body was transported back to Venice where he received military honours in St Mark's basilica.⁶

The Cornaro monument was the result of a private initiative.⁷ Federico Cornaro, Procurator of Saint Mark and Caterino's younger brother, recruited Longhena in around 1672. A record of receipts from 1672-73 documents the involvement of Longhena and Le Court. An unexecuted project proposal for the monument preserved in a drawing has been attributed to the latter,⁸ while Marco Beltrame and Zuanne Moro worked on the military trophy and on the decorations at the base of the monument. The monument was completed in 1674 in the northern nave of the church between the tomb of the jurisconsult Antonio Rosselli on the left and the chapel of Saint Anthony on the right. Erecting a monument close to Saint Anthony's tomb was the highest conceivable honour for Caterino, as Anthony's miracles could be referred to as a model for his actions. As I will demonstrate later in more depth, the excellent location of the Cornaro monument metaphorically elevated Caterino as

⁶ For a biography of Caterino Cornaro, see Renzo Derosas, entry *Cornaro, Caterino*, in DBI, vol. 29 (1983), pp. 169-72.

⁷ For the chronological reconstruction which is summarised in this paragraph, see Douglas Lewis, 'Una decina di documenti del Longhena', *Arte veneta* 27 (1973), pp. 310-12, and Frank (2004), pp. 397-98. For an overview of the Cornaro monument, see also Bernardo Gonzati, *La basilica di S. Antonio di Padova* (Padua: Antonio Bianchi, 1852), vol. 2, pp. 293-94; Longhena (1982), p. 165; Camillo Semenzato, 'Il secolo XVII: tombe e cenotafi', in *Le sculture del Santo di Padova*, ed. Giovanni Lorenzoni (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1984), pp. 184-88; Lewis (2000), p. 768; Hopkins (2012), p. 157; Crosbie (2015a), pp. 174-79.

⁸ 1672, pen, ink and wash on paper, Salzburg Barockmuseum, 35.6 x 24.5 cm. For this drawing, see Hopkins (2012), p. 157 and fig. 199 p. 161.

the soldier who liberated Venice from the plague of the Turks on a par with Anthony as the saviour of Padua.

The Cornaro monument (Fig. 65) displays the life-size figure of Caterino on a pedestal as a victorious captain wearing military uniform and holding a baton of command. Caterino's statue is set against a drape of black marble which is framed by a military trophy with flags, weapons and the coats of arms of the Cornaro family. The majesty of Caterino's posture is enhanced by his dominance over the statues of captives lying at his feet. These figures are placed over the base, which is supported by telamones in the guise of slaves flanking an octagonal slab of black marble displaying the funerary epitaph.⁹ The entire monument is set against a slab of red variegated marble framed by a respond on the left and by one of the pilasters of the chapel of Saint Anthony on the right.

Iconographically, the statue of Caterino recalls a typology which Longhena had already employed in funerary monuments to other generals and soldiers of the Venetian republic. The full-length life-size figure of a commander dressed in military uniform had a long-standing tradition in Venetian tomb monuments.¹⁰ The Venetian

⁹ As I will demonstrate later in this section (p. 129), the captive and the telamone on the right depict slavery in conventional ways (half-naked male figures whose ethnicity corresponds to the western type), whereas the captive and the telamone on the left display the features and the somatic characteristics of Muslim slaves.

The funerary epitaph reads as follows: 'DOM CATERINO CORNELIO | QUI CRETENSI BELLO ANDREAE PARENTIS SUMMI | DUCIS IMPRESSA SANGUINE VESTIGIA INSISTENS | OMNES HONORUM GRADUS EMENSUS DALMATIAE | DEIN CRETAE CUM SUMMA POTESTATE LEGATUS | TRIENNIUM OBSESSA METROPOLI MANU CONSIPIO | EXEMPLO NUNANTIA FATA ET SUMMUM URBIS | DIEM MORATUS EST SED DUM IN PROPUGNACULO | MAXIME HOSTIBUS INFESTO DIES NOCTESQUE EXCUBAT | OLLAE INCENDIARIAE FULMINE COELO ASSERTUS EST | INSULARUM NOBILISSIMAE UNA IN CINERES COLLAPSAE | ROGO FUNERATUS FEDERICUS CORNELIUS FRATRI INCOMPARABILI H. M. P. ANNO MDCLXXIV'.

¹⁰ Anne Markham Schultz observes that the earliest example is the monument to the Venetian

senate had commissioned a funerary monument to Captain Bartolomeo Orsini d'Alviano from Longhena as early as 1629 (Fig. 67).¹¹ The monument was completed in 1633 in the church of Santo Stefano, Venice, and it features the full-length statue of Bartolomeo Orsini in a niche flanked by pilasters, volutes and obelisks.¹² By the mid-seventeenth century, full-length life-size statues of Venetian commanders had become the norm, especially in state-commissioned tombs erected in the aftermath of the Cretan War.¹³ In 1665 the monument to Captain Alvise Mocenigo was completed on the counter-façade of San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti, Venice (Fig. 68). Devised by Giuseppe Sardi in 1658, the monument features the life-size statue of Mocenigo standing on a sarcophagus in a niche of variegated marble. Mocenigo is wearing the uniform of *Capitano da mar* and is holding the baton of command, in a way that anticipates the statue of Caterino which was to be executed almost twenty years later.¹⁴

A more direct iconographic model for the statue of Caterino is to be found in a commission obtained by Longhena in 1666 when he designed monuments for Orazio Farnese of Parma (Fig. 69) and Almerico d'Este of Modena (Fig. 70). Orazio

admiral Vittor Pisani (d. 1380) in Santi Giovanni e Paolo (originally in Sant'Antonio di Castello). This typology reappeared in the Mocenigo cenotaph in Santi Giovanni e Paolo and in the tombs of Jacopo Marcello (d. 1484), Melchior Trevisan (d. 1500) and Benedetto Pesaro (d. 1503), all in the Frari basilica. See Anne Markham Schulz, *Giambattista and Lorenzo Bregno. Venetian Sculpture in the High Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 205.

¹¹ Bartolomeo Orsini (1445-1515) was a commander of the Venetian Republic. He distinguished himself in the war of the League of Cambrai. For his biography, see Piero Pieri, entry *Alviano, Bartolomeo d'*, in DBI, vol. 2 (1960), pp. 587-91.

¹² Hopkins (2012), pp. 142-43.

¹³ See Linda Borean, 'Il monumento Mocenigo in San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti', *Arte veneta* 52 (1998), pp. 56-57; Matteo Casini, 'Immagini dei capitani generali «da Mar» a Venezia in età Barocca', in Fantoni (2001), pp. 219-70, esp. 253-57; Gaier (2002), pp. 116-18.

¹⁴ Gaier (2002), pp. 291-95; and Crosbie (2015a), pp. 171-74.

Farnese fought in Candia under the command of Alvise Mocenigo and died in 1656 in the battle of the Dardanelles, whilst Almerico d'Este died in service on the island of Paros.¹⁵ After their deaths, the Republic bestowed military honours on them and commissioned Longhena to design monuments to Orazio in the church of the Crociferi and to Almerico in the Frari basilica. The monuments display an identical structure, which is characterised by the full-length life-size figures of Orazio and Almerico sculpted by Le Court. Both statues are set against a slab of black marble flanked by military trophies framed by Doric columns on the sides, and by the coats of arms of the Farnese and d'Este families and a drape with the funerary epitaph on the Doric frieze at the bottom.¹⁶ The Farnese and d'Este monuments were state-funded tombs, and Longhena evidently had to meet certain requisites of elegance and decorum in line with the canons of state portraiture. As Hopkins observed, state-tombal monuments in Venice were by their nature conservative, because its governmental bodies were preoccupied with avoiding any inopportune self-celebration of the deceased.¹⁷ In contrast, the Cornaro monument was a private commission which allowed Longhena to experiment with innovative ideas without having to work within restrictions imposed by the senate.

The most striking iconographical feature of the Cornaro monument is the relationship between Caterino, the bound slaves at his feet and the telamones which

¹⁵ Hopkins (2012), p. 150.

¹⁶ For these monuments, see Lewis (2000), pp. 763-69; Frank (2004), pp. 348-50; Hopkins (2012), p. 150; Crosbie (2015a), pp. 176-77.

¹⁷ Hopkins (2012), p. 21. Hopkins observes that Venice's conservatism was confirmed 'by the senate's preference for the more traditional of two proposals put forward by Longhena in 1629 for the cenotaph in S. Stefano for the military commander, Bartolomeo d'Alviano'. See *ibid.*, p. 21.

are supporting his statue (Figs 65-66). Especially interesting is the iconography of the slaves and the telamones. Those on the right depict slavery in conventional ways: they take the likenesses of half-naked male figures; they have long beards, and their somatic characters are typical of European slaves.¹⁸ On the contrary, the slave and the telamone on the left have large moustaches and a tuft of hair which is emblematic of the shaving of Muslim slaves.¹⁹ The ethnicity of the slaves and the telamones and their function in the monument is partly reminiscent of the Moors in the Pesaro monument. In fact, in the Cornaro monument the prisoners are also an allusion to the enemies who had been defeated and enslaved by Venice in Candia, and their subjugation to Caterino's figure enhances their condition as slaves. Yet, in contrast to the Pesaro monument, here the relationship between Caterino and the telamones is less intense and indeed mitigated by the use of white marble, rather than the black marble used for the Moors of the Pesaro monument as a symbol of their blackness. Moreover, it should be noted that in the Pesaro monument, Longhena was concerned with intensifying the contrast between the plinth of Moors and the sculptures shown above the Doric entablature through a complex interaction of weights, shapes and colours (Fig. 35). On the contrary, the architectural structure of the Cornaro monument is quite different, and Longhena resorted to other means to enhance the relationship between Caterino, the prisoners and the telamones.²⁰

¹⁸ Cf. the iconography of European slaves analysed by Mark Rosen in a recent article: Mark Rosen, 'Pietro Tacca's Quattro Mori and the Conditions of Slavery in Early Seicento Tuscany', *Art Bulletin* 97:1 (2015), p. 35 and pp. 36-37 figs 5-6.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

²⁰ It can be argued that the architectural structure of the Cornaro monument was also inspired by wall tombs where the full-length figure of the deceased standing on sarcophagus is set on a structure sustained by supporting figures. In Sant'Antonio in Padua, the funerary monuments that partially

To achieve their intended result, Longhena and Le Court intensified the contrast between the upper and lower orders of the Cornaro Monument by creating a conflict of forces. Firstly, the dramatic pose of the telamones evokes the idea of being oppressed by an unsustainable weight (Fig. 65). Le Court almost exaggerates the telamones' physiognomy to enhance their discomfort; suffice it to mention the facial expression of the Muslim slave on the left with his tensed muscles and the swollen veins which are visible on his hands, knees and feet (Fig. 66). Secondly, the sculptures in the upper order and the military trophies give the impression of being so heavy that they can be barely sustained by the bounded telamones. Finally, the telamones are around one third of the height of the entire monument, and approximately half the height of Caterino's statue, including the pedestal and the two prisoners. As a result of this structure, Longhena achieved a quasi-sublimation of Caterino's figure victoriously emerging at the top of the triangulation with the telamones at the bottom and the defeated prisoners along the diagonals. The magnificence of Caterino's pose is especially underlined by the torsion of his body: the right leg, which is gently bent, generates an elliptical motion starting from the bottom, passing through the left hand which is set diagonally while holding the baton of command, and culminating in his gaze which is projected towards the left. In this way, Caterino's victorious pose suggests a movement from bottom to top, and Longhena deals with the problem of rendering the impression of an oppressive

recall this structure are those to the Milanese literate Antonio Ferrari (1684), the Paduan commander Orazio Secco (1686), or Michele Sanmicheli's monument to Alessandro Contarini. For the Ferrari and the Secco monuments, see Semenzato (1984), pp. 190-91, and Giulio Bresciani Alvarez, 'Il tardo Barocco: l'opera di Filippo Parodi e di Giovanni Bonazza', in Lorenzoni (1984), pp. 195-98. For the Contarini Monument, see Rossi (1995), pp. 63-65.

weight without having to resort to a massive entablature.

2. Cornaro's Sacrifice

One of the most fascinating aspects of seventeenth-century culture is the development of the theme of death in funerary monuments.²¹ Alongside the revival of the macabre, a tendency which was especially widespread in northern Europe, the difference in the manner of viewing death is particularly evident in monuments which emphasise death as a 'guarantor of immortality' rather than as a destroyer.²² In the Venetian setting, death is conceived as part of the Venetian ethos: dying to serve the state is seen as a sacrifice which metaphorically raises the deceased to the rank of a martyr.²³ The Cornaro monument can be considered as an outcome of this idealised vision of death, which rewards the sacrifice of the Venetian captains with posthumous glories. To understand how this process works, it is necessary to contextualise the Cornaro monument in the cultural background in which the shift in the manner of regarding death occurred.

In a collection of eulogies to illustrious Venetian citizens published in 1672, the Augustinian friar Giacomo Fiorelli outlined a set of moral values which, if followed, would render the conduct of the patricians exemplary.²⁴ In the fifth book, dedicated to the Venetian heroes, Fiorelli grants a special place to the sacrifice of Venetian soldiers: the pinnacle of a soldier's career, according to Fiorelli, is not determined by

²¹ Panofsky (1964a), pp. 221-36; Panofsky (1964b), pp. 67-96. For a more complete overview of the theme of death in the seventeenth century, see the fundamental essay by Philippe Ariès, *Storia della morte in occidente* (Milan: BUR 2006, first published 1975), esp. pp. 17-84.

²² Panofsky (1964b), p. 94.

²³ See Raines (2006), pp. 351-54.

²⁴ Giacomo Fiorelli, *Deti e fatti memorabili del Senato, e patritii veneti* (Venetia: Combi e La Noù, 1672).

one's personal ambitions, but by death, which is understood to be the ultimate route to achieving immortality.²⁵

Similar ideas were developed at around the same time by the patrician Marco Trevisan. In the dedication of his *Pompe funebri* – a collection of eulogies written in the aftermath of the Cretan War – to the Venetian senator Pietro Dolfin, Trevisan addressed the erection of funerary monuments as follows:

[...] Death craves immortality because she loves to live in the enlivening words that the writers infuse with spirit after she has erected memorable monuments for herself on the sepulchres. The more Fame advertises her victims, the more Death prides herself on being an Antaeus, for she is revived and reinvigorated by those hands which have the virtue to create balms against corruption [...].²⁶

In this excerpt, Trevisan conceives funerary monuments as a way of celebrating both death and the defeat of death. By evoking the myth of Antaeus – the giant who was defeated by Hercules who lifted him aloft and killed him during a wrestling match²⁷ – Trevisan envisions Death as a new Antaeus who is revived and reinvigorated by the Hercules of eulogy: the erection of a monument that celebrates Death through her own defeat at the hands of immortality. Then, Trevisan indirectly alludes to the statues of the deceased in funerary monuments as if the stone were the equivalent of

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 11, 111.

²⁶ Marco Trevisan, *Pompe funebri celebrate da Marco Trivisano* (Venetia: Zatta, 1673), p. 3: '[...] la morte si dichiara ambiziosa dell'immortalità, amando vivere su le carte vitali, cui danno l'anima gli scrittori, dopo che sopra i sepolcri s'ha ella eretti memorabili trionfi; e, quanto più ne va pubblicando le cadute la Fama, tanto più si gloria fastosa d'essere un'Anteo, rinvivata, e rinvigorita da quelle mani, che hanno virtù, per comporre li balsami contro la corruzione [...]'.

²⁷ Apollodorus, *The Library*, vol. 1 (London: William Heinemann, 1921), p. 223.

the bones of the dedicatee of the monument. As opposed to the physical body, which decays after death, the statues are everlasting and incorrupt, as if they were protected by a balm preventing the bodies from undergoing decomposition. Therefore, funerary monuments are sempiternal, thereby paying tribute to the victims of Death and immortalising their actions.

In the main text, Trevisan assigns great importance to the funerary monuments of Venetian soldiers who died serving the state and criticises authors who neglected the sacrifices made by valorous citizens.²⁸ In his praise of Venetian soldiers, Trevisan likens death on the battlefield to a martyrdom which is absolutely necessary because of the way in which it benefits the whole community:

[...] Our fellow citizens who sacrificed their time and lives defending the state deserve more glory than our senators who take advantage of the fruitful results of their sacrifice, namely the maintenance of faith and the preservation and glory of the state. Those [citizens] are the foundations of our safety and glory.²⁹

Indeed, the concept of sacrificing one's life for the sake of an ideal – the defence of the common good – harks back to Paruta.³⁰ Relying on Paruta, Trevisan further expands on the superiority of sacrifice over life, to such an extent that sacrifice itself

²⁸ Trevisan (1673), pp. 9 and 15.

²⁹ Trevisan (1673), p. 10: '[...] così quei nostri concittadini, ch'anno spese l'età, et i sangui loro per la gloria della Patria, sono [...] più degni di lode, che quelli, che sedendo su le porpore godono de i frutti de' loro martirii, che sono il mantenimento della Fede, la preservatione, e la gloria della Patria. Quelli, quelli sono le basi della sicurezza, e gloria nostra'.

³⁰ Raines (2006), pp. 351-52.

became a principle upon which to extol the heroism of Venetian soldiers.³¹ ‘These soldiers [...] are like a nourishment for the glories of the state; the blood they shed is the fluid which maintains the state everlasting [...]’.³² Just as blood is the vital fluid which purifies the human body, so too the blood shed by the Venetian soldiers cleanses their souls from sin in the eternal glory of Paradise: ‘[...] whoever dies serving the state is such a deserving person that even if one’s life were sinful, blood would cleanse any sin so that one would gloriously return to an honourable life [...]’.³³ It is therefore evident that in Trevisan the theme of death is conceived as a rebirth of Venetian soldiers as martyrs and as a basis for their celebration and eternal glory.

The acknowledgment of sacrifice as a fundamental component of the Venetian ethos demands some form of compensation to the martyred heroes: the immortalisation of their actions. Trevisan observes that both eulogies and funerary monuments transmit the glory of the Venetian soldiers to posterity.³⁴ In particular, Trevisan warns the reader that eulogies and monuments are not solely a form of praise, but should first and foremost become the carriers of moral teaching:

People would be wrong to think that marbles, statues [...], dignity and privileges of illustrious men would be limited to a sole record of gratitude or token of affection. The real purpose [latent in marbles, statues etc.] is much

³¹ Ibid., p. 353.

³² Trevisan (1673), p. 14: ‘Da questi [...] ne ricevi il nudrimento delle tue gloria; quei sangui, che colà si versano, sono gli humori, che conservano il verde sempiterno de’ tuoi pregi [...]’.

³³ Ibid., p. 19: ‘[...] quello che muore per la Patria, è di tanto merito, che, se fosse macchiato d’ogni bruttezza, lava con quel sangue ogni macchia, e rinasce glorioso ad una vita honorata [...]’.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 24.

larger. The aim is to benefit the state and to give honour to those men for their services to the Republic.³⁵

In the conclusion of his discourse, Trevisan includes the eulogies for the distinguished Venetian citizens who died fighting in Candia. These include a eulogy to Caterino: Trevisan appreciates Caterino's sacrifice and extols his memorable achievements as a virtuous model.³⁶ In sum, both Fiorelli and Trevisan delineated what has probably been the most important vision of the Venetian principle of *pro patria mori* since Paruta.³⁷ Above all, these authors demonstrate that by the mid 1670s the ideals of sacrifice and heroism had been acknowledged as quintessential components of the Venetian ethos.

3. The Cornaro Monument and the Iconography of Slavery

Thus far we have seen the way in which the Cornaro monument was intended as a special recognition of Caterino's services to Venice: not only was this monument intended to commemorate the deceased, but it was also supposed to elicit the involvement of the viewer and to gain his or her understanding of the civic value which was inherent in Caterino's death. The almost didactic purpose driving the execution of this monument can be better understood if it is considered in relation to other commemorative monuments which are iconographically close to Cornaro's,

³⁵ Ibid., p. 24: 'Chi credesse che i marmi, le statue [...], le Dignità, et Privilegi de' Prencipi havessero i limiti loro prescritti in quella sola, o gratitudine, o espressione d'affetto, s'ingannerebbe di gran lunga, perché più ampia è l'intentione, che non si vede, che quella che apparisce; il fine è d'appendere un'esca honorata all'amo del publico beneficio per far una sontuosa preda della volontà libera, e vagante della gente al servizio della Republica, et all'honore dello stesso, che si piglia'.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 42.

³⁷ Cf. Raines (2006), pp. 351-54.

and to eulogies which describe the erection of the monument commemorating Cornaro's sacrifice.

The Cornaro monument belongs to a genre of monuments of Venetian captains which were erected with the purpose of commemorating their service to the state as a fundamental element of the Venetian ethos. A characteristic of this genre can be identified in the absence of a grave within the monument. In other words, these monuments were intended to be commemorative, and not as burial places. This detail is important because it emphasises the role of architectural and sculptural decoration in enriching the celebratory aspect of these images.³⁸ In addition, it should also be noted that there is a close interconnection between sculpture and architecture as another main feature of the Cornaro monument. On the one hand, an essentially simple design is very effective in adding majesty and complexity, especially through an effective redesign of classical architectural elements such as the telamones. On the other, Longhena's vocabulary is in close dialogue with Le Court's, and no doubt the sculptural decoration is pivotal in achieving the message of this monument.

As we have already seen, an important precursor to the Cornaro monument was Giuseppe Sardi's monument to Captain Alvise Mocenigo in San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti (Fig. 68). Apart from the iconographic similarities between the statue of Mocenigo and that of Cornaro, what was especially important in the Mocenigo Monument was the idea of sacrifice and its implication for Venetian civic imagery.

³⁸ For the difference between *sepulcrum* (the burial) and the *monumentum* (the structure or sculptural decoration which keeps the memory of the deceased alive), see Herklotz (1985), p. 226.

As Martin Gaier has pointed out, Mocenigo never expressed any desire for a monument in his honour and in his will only instructed that he be buried in the family tomb in Santi Giovanni e Paolo.³⁹ The monument in San Lazzaro was actually requested by Mocenigo's nephews Alvise I Piero and Alvise IV Lunardo, and was intended to replicate the military honours Mocenigo had received in Candia in 1650 and 1654.⁴⁰ Thus, the Mocenigo Monument exhorted the Venetians to ponder over Mocenigo's death in Candia in 1654 and the importance of his achievement in terms of civic ethos, as the Latin inscription on the monument recalls: 'do not think this is a mausoleum. You are in front of the triumph erected in Crete for the Procurator of Saint Mark Alvise Mocenigo, here carried by the tears of the [Venetian] citizens'.⁴¹

The commemorative monument which sets a clearer precedent for the architectural structure of the Cornaro monument, however, is Pietro Tacca's monument of the Four Moors in Livorno (Fig. 71). This monument was originally commissioned from Giovanni Bandini, who executed a statue of Ferdinando I de' Medici to commemorate his victories over the Ottoman Empire (1597-99).⁴² The monument was then completed by Pietro Tacca, who cast the four bronze statues of the Moors between 1621 and 1626.⁴³ The monument features the statue of

³⁹ Gaier (2002), p. 292.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 292, 294.

⁴¹ Cit. in ibid., p. 294. The original Latin inscription, which is visible on the left memorial tabled on the external side of the monument, reads as follows: 'NE MONEM, QUAM CERNIS, | MAUSOLEUM PUTA SPECTATOR. | TRIUMPHUS HIC EST, QUI CRETAE POSITUS | ALOYSIO MOCENICO | D. MARCI PROCURATORI, | HUC PER CIVIUM LACHRYMAS ADVECTUS EST'.

⁴² Piero Torriti, *Pietro Tacca da Carrara* (Genoa: Sagep, 1984), pp. 37-39; Rosen (2015), pp. 42-43.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 45. See also Jean Michel Massing et al., *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, vol. 3, part 2, *From the "Age of Discovery" to the Age of Abolition. Europe and the World Beyond* (Cambridge and London: Belknap Press, 2011), p. 193.

Ferdinando de' Medici wearing armour and holding a baton of command. Similarly to the Cornaro monument, Francesco dominates over the four statues of bounded slaves who are lying at the base of a high pedestal. The physiognomy of the slaves is extremely well depicted and expresses an intense feeling of resignation. Similarly to the Cornaro monument, they have their beards and heads shaved, except for a tuft of hair at the back of the skull as a reference to the shaving of Muslim slaves.⁴⁴ The representation of sculptures of bound prisoners was a common feature of Renaissance commemorative monuments in honour of kings or commanders. For example, Ludovico Cardi's design for the pedestal of the equestrian monument to Henry IV on the Pont Neuf in Paris displays two statues of prisoners chained to harpies (Fig. 72).⁴⁵ Further examples of this genre include Leone Leoni's statue of Charles V, now in Madrid (1550-53), or Leoni's commemorative monument to Ferrante Gonzaga in Guastalla.⁴⁶

These examples indicate that the iconography of slavery in this genre of monuments served to commemorate the exploits of Italian and European captains or rulers on two complementary grounds. On the one hand, the statue of the deceased defeating – or in some case even trampling on – the prisoners is reminiscent of the iconography of Christian soldiers triumphing over heresy.⁴⁷ Especially during the

⁴⁴ Rosen (2015), p. 39.

⁴⁵ This monument was commissioned around 1604 from Giambologna by Maria de' Medici, the daughter of Francesco I. It was destroyed in 1792 during the French Revolution. See *Pietro Tacca. Carrara, la Toscana, le grandi corti europee* (exhibition catalogue, Centro Internazionale delle Arti Plastiche, Carrara, May-August 2007), ed. Franca Falletti (Florence: Mandragora, 2007), pp. 150 and 160.

⁴⁶ Jessica Mack-Andrick, *Pietro Tacca Hofbildhauer der Medici (1577-1640). Politische Funktion und Ikonographie des frühabsolutistischen Herrscherdenkmals unter den Großherzögen Ferdinando I., Cosimo II. und Ferdinando II* (Weimar: VDG, 2005), pp. 122 and 118-25.

⁴⁷ In some cases the iconography of these monuments recalls the iconography of Saint Michael

Cretan War, Turks were seen as the personification of evil, and Venice's war against the Ottoman Empire was generally deemed a *bellum iustum* for the sake of Christianity.⁴⁸ On the other, one of the main themes underpinned by these and the Cornaro monuments was the idea of absolutism and liberty intrinsic to Venice's domination over the defeated prisoners. It comes as little surprise, then, that the iconography of slavery recurs in paintings executed under the patronage of the Medici court and of the Venetian republic as well. In a fresco from the *Fasti medicei* (1636-46), a cycle commissioned from Volterrano in Villa della Petraia, Florence (Fig. 73), celebrating the history of the Medici family, the personification of the sovereignty of Tuscany – crowned, holding the sceptre and wearing ermine – is leading Pisa and Livorno to pay tribute to Ferdinand I on the left.⁴⁹ The most illuminating example is, however, provided in an allegory which was depicted by Palma Giovane on the ceiling of the *Sala del Maggior Consiglio* in the Doge's Palace, Venice (Fig. 74). In this important painting, an enthroned personification of Venice is crowned by a victory. Venice displays its authoritative power over its subjects, which include a defeated Turk bowing below Venice's throne. Three other figures of prisoners are depicted in the lower register: they are in chains and one of them

defeating evil, as in Leone Leoni's commemorative monument of Charles IV trampling a Fury. See Mack-Andrick (2005), p. 310, fig. 38.

⁴⁸ Giorgio Tagliaferro observes that the ruler defeating the enemies thanks to God's help is one of the main themes of the collection of psalms which was edited and translated by Gabriele Fiamma in 1571. See Giorgio Tagliaferro, 'Il "mito" ripensato: trasformazioni della pittura veneziana tra Lepanto e l'Interdetto', in Paul (2014), p. 214.

⁴⁹ Mack Andrick (2005), p. 157, and Massing et al. (2011), p. 196. For Volterrano's frescoes at Villa della Petraia, see Riccardo Spinelli, 'Gli affreschi di Baldassarre Franceschini, il Volterrano, a villa "La Petraia"', in *Fasto di corte. La decorazione murale nelle residenze dei Medici e dei Lorena*, vol. 2, *L'età di Ferdinando II de' Medici*, ed. Mina Gregori (Florence: Edifir, 2006), pp. 13-30. For the iconography of slaves at the time of Cosimo I and Fernando I de Medici, see Mack-Andrick (2005), pp. 145-52.

disconsolately twists his body as if attempting to escape, although on the right a prisoner symbolically accepts his subjection under the Republic's dominion by pointing his finger at the personification of Venice represented above.⁵⁰

A cursory scrutiny of the iconography of slavery confirms that Longhena and Le Court were working with reference to a previous tradition of commemorative monuments where the combination of a sculpted portrait and defeated prisoners was fraught with commemorative and religious implications. The fact that the Cornaro monument was executed in the aftermath of the Cretan War is particularly symptomatic: the war had a tragic outcome in terms of expenditure and victims, and the surrender of Candia to the Ottoman Empire inflicted the *coup de grâce* to the Venetian republic.⁵¹ Understood in this light, the erection of a monument in recognition of Caterino's sacrifice was an opportunity to extol Caterino as the captain who saved Venice from the plague of the Turks through his death, and to reconfirm the idealistic vision of Venice as a republic of Christian heroes and Venice's sovereign power over its dominion.

4. The Persistence of the Rhetoric of the Living Monument in Poems in Honour to Cornaro

Panegyric poetry in honour of Caterino Cornaro widely acknowledges the function of the funerary monument as a material form of commemoration. Especially important for our purposes are the poems which were collected by the Venetian writer and diplomat Lorenzo Fondra in a commemorative volume published on the

⁵⁰ For this painting, see Wolters (1983), pp. 275-77.

⁵¹ See Gaetano Cozzi, 'La Guerra di Candia (1645-1669)', in *La repubblica di Venezia nell'età moderna. Dal 1517 alla fine della repubblica*, ed. Gaetano Cozzi et al. (Turin: UTET, 1992), pp. 117-27.

occasion of Caterino's funeral in 1669.⁵² Many of these poems invoke an imaginary monument in honour of Caterino and describe it as a living presence. In these poems, the erection of colossi in honour of Caterino is compared to a revivification process: just as funerary monuments eternalise Caterino's deeds, so too sculptors are compared to demiurges infusing life into the inert stone and giving it spirit and movement. The style and the metaphors used by the authors of these poems are similar to those used by Giovanni Prati or Cristoforo Ivanovich in their description of the Pesaro monument.⁵³ Thus, analysis of the poems in honour of Caterino is especially useful in investigating the vitality of the *topos* of the living image around 1670s and its influence on the perception of the Cornaro monument.

One of these poems, a sonnet by the patrician and poet Alessandro Vianoli, encourages the reader to meditate on the moral significance of Caterino's death.⁵⁴ The sonnet opens by describing a personage contemplating an imaginary monument which was supposed to have been erected as a tribute to Caterino's death, to which the author makes an allusion: 'Halt, wayfarer. / This is the place in which Cornaro's valour is celebrated, and not an ordinary tomb. / His [Cornaro's] strength sufficed to keep the walls of Crete safe / But Crete was not enough to protect him'.⁵⁵ In the third stanza, Vianoli extolls Caterino's achievements in fighting against enemies in

⁵² Lorenzo Fondra, *Poesie in morte dell'Illustrissimo, et Eccellentissimo Signor Cavalier Caterino Cornaro Proveditor general da mar, ucciso da bomba nemica nella difesa di Candia* (Venetia: Giovanni Antonio Vidali, 1669).

⁵³ Cf. Chapter Two, Sections 4 and 5.

⁵⁴ Fondra (1669), p. 6. Vianoli's sonnet, like the other poems published in the same collection, is untitled.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 6: 'Ferma il passo viator. Questa è la meta / Del Cornaro valor, non urna oscura; / Ei fu bastante a riparar sue mura; / Ma non bastò per ripararlo Creta'.

Candia. The description of the battle is combined with the posthumous apotheosis of Caterino, trampling the enemies who are kept under subjection: 'For if he gave proof of his valour by defeating our enemies, / Now in heaven he treads them down'.⁵⁶ Vianoli then concludes the poem with a celebration of Candia, which is poetically described as the cradle of Jupiter, to whom Caterino is metaphorically compared.⁵⁷

Vianoli's sonnet envisages a monument of Caterino in a way which is very reminiscent of his monument in Sant'Antonio (Fig. 65); although in the real monument Caterino does not trample the prisoners, his sumptuous figure inevitably recalls that his exploits were such that captives still remain under his domination. It is also worth noticing that Vianoli describes Caterino's deeds in epic terms and even authors of the other poems of the same compilation describe Caterino as if he were a mythological figure.⁵⁸ The invocation of an epic aura surrounding Caterino's achievements is mirrored in his commemorative monument, and especially in the solemn posture of Caterino's statue and in its domination over the bounded prisoners and telamones. Moreover, Vianoli's sonnet is intriguing because it epitomises the salient points touched upon by the other poems published in the same collection and reiterated by the Cornaro monument: the didactic function of funerary monuments as devices to keep memory alive; Caterino's sacrifice as a

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 6: 'Che s'ei fè contro lei co'l braccio prove, / Hora sopra del Ciel co'l piè la preme'.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 6: 'Et aggiunte all'antiche hor glorie nove / Creta è maggior, ch'ha collegate insieme, / E la Tomba al Cornaro, e Culla a Giove'.

⁵⁸ See a sonnet by Luigi Fondra in *ibid.*, pp. 47 and 64: '[...] Sembrò di Giove a la difesa un Marte'; '[...] reso han famoso, e chiaro / i sudor de la fronte, e non le stille / de la torbida Stige il nostro Achille'.

fundamental duty which will be rewarded in heaven; Caterino's repression of defeated enemies.

A lyric poem by Lorenzo Fondra provides a more articulated description of these points.⁵⁹ What is most fascinating of this poem is the way in which it provides an original description of the erection of statues as a revivification of Caterino from death back to life. In fact, Fondra saw the poem as an opportunity not only to celebrate death (Caterino's sacrifice), but also the victory of art over death through the execution of immortal statues which perpetuate Caterino's deeds:

[...] Enlivening chisel, you snatch the dead from their pyres
And with your industrious tips
You wage an erudite war against Death,
Because you brighten and revivify what she tears down
And cut the hostile wings of the fleeting years, impeding their flights;
By erecting monuments,
You eternalise virtue and harm wicked time,
You humanise the stones and defeat oblivion.⁶⁰

In this stanza, the process of carving statues is metaphorically described as if the chisel was a weapon jabbed against Death. Just as the erection of statues is equated with infusing life into the crude stone, so too the tips of the chisel are described as a blade which can cut the wings of Time. The erection of statues, therefore, is a metaphor for the sculptors' ability to instil life into the monuments celebrating the

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 72-80. For a full transcription of Fondra's poem, see Appendix Three.

⁶⁰ Fondra (1669), p. 73: '[...] Ferro vital, ch'involi / A i roghi l'ombre, e con le punte industri / Muovi a la morte un'erudita guerra: / Che ciò, che l'empia atterra / Rischiarì, avvivi, e de fugaci lustri / Tarpi l'ali nemiche, e freni i voli: / Che su l'erette moli / Virtute eterni, impiaghi il Tempo rio, / Humani i sassi, e laceri l'oblio'.

lives that Death has only temporarily defeated.

In the following stanza, Fondra celebrates Cornaro by invoking the extraction of blocks of marble in order to erect 'gigantic colossi' ('colossi giganti') of exceptional originality and craftsmanship:

[...] Ripped open, the mountain should erect its animated blocks
Like gigantic colossi in order to contrast the injuries of time,
And swiftly concurring together,
The loftiest ideas and the vastest thoughts
Should forge a satisfactory urn for those great bones;
Let art toil away at the work,
Let the chisel [ferro] represent the deeds of the sword [ferro]
And let the marble depict the wounds of the Thracians through their veins.⁶¹

In these lines, Fondra declares that only the loftiest ideas and the vastest thoughts are suitable for the forging of a monument to commemorate Caterino's deeds. By exploiting the dual significance of the Italian word 'ferro' (iron) as both chisel and sword, Fondra observes that veined marble represents the wounds inflicted by the sword on injured enemies. The sculptors' dexterity with the chisel is then underlined by Fondra by suggesting that the marble, through its bleeding veins, instantiates the defeat of inert matter at the hands of Art.

Further on, Fondra paradoxically remarks that funerary monuments as a fleeting reward are doomed to oblivion, and therefore they are nothing but an ephemeral

⁶¹ Fondra (1669), p. 73: [...] In colossi giganti / Erga, de gl'anni a contrastar l'offese, / Rupi animate il lacerato Monte. / E concorrendo pronte / L'idee più grandi, et i pensier più vasti / Formino a le grand'ossa, urna, che basti. / Sudi l'Arte ne l'opra: / L'opre del ferro il ferro esprima, e i Marmi / Ne le ferite lor le Tracie piaghe [...].

tribute incommensurate with Caterino's immortal deeds:

[...] What then? Is it possible that mournful acclaims
And a sculpted tomb should be the ephemeral tribute
And the fleeting reward for immortal deeds?
A tomb, which ultimately conquered by voracious time
Will become its trophy amidst the grass!
Acclaims, which are the frail remnants of Death!
Only glory will erect living monuments to Caterino
And his deeds will be his memorial! ⁶²

Thus, true monuments are not tombs and statues, but eternal glory, the ultimate way of paying homage to Caterino by eternalising the civic value of his sacrifice. In this way, Fondra indirectly recalls the capacity of the monuments to keep the memory of the deceased alive through the celebration of his or her actions. This commemorative and "didactic" function of monuments was at the core of Marco Trevisan's exhortations to erect funerary monuments which both immortalise the deeds of the deceased and urge the viewer to reflect upon them as exemplary models.⁶³

Similar notions are stressed in the last stanza of Fondra's poem. Fondra ends his poem by saying that despite Caterino's death, he would live eternally through his remembrance, which would encourage Venetian soldiers to fight against their enemies. In the last three lines, Fondra concludes by predicting the erection of

⁶² Ibid., p. 74: '[...] Ma che? D'opre immortali / Momentanea mercè, premio fugace / Sia mesto applauso, et una tomba incisa? / Tomba, ch'al fin conquista / Sia un'erbose trofeo del Tempo edace? / Applausi, de la Morte avanzi frali? / Monumenti vitali / Solo la Gloria a CATERINO appresti, / E le memoria sue sian i suoi gesti'.

⁶³ On Trevisan, see above Section 2 in this chapter, pp. 132-35, and Trevisan (1673), *passim*, esp. pp. 15, 24, 33.

trophies set up as memorials of the future military victories of Venice. In the poem, the trophies are described as gigantic colossi casting their shadow upon the moon, and eventually hiding it: a metaphor of the Crescent, the symbol of the Ottoman Empire defeated by Venice.⁶⁴

In conclusion, the aforementioned poems provide a stimulating example of the interaction between eloquent words and commemorative images. Since these poems were published before the Cornaro monument in Sant'Antonio was unveiled, they might have been received as sources of inspiration for the monument and provide valuable insights into the ways of viewing and reception of funerary monuments in the seventeenth century.⁶⁵ They exaggerate the ability of sculptors to create life, which is realised in the exceptional artistic quality of the Cornaro monument as it was executed by Longhena and Le Court. A marked interaction between architecture and sculpture, in particular, characterises the Cornaro monument and emphasises its uniqueness. The architectural framework of the monument enhances its display of sculptures, to such an extent that the sculptures merge into the architectural structure by forging a monument of extraordinary evocative power, artistry and rhetorical potency. The complex interaction of words and images, both in poems and the physical monument dedicated to Caterino, provided a new type of eloquent model to commemorate the deeds of a civic hero, which was further developed in the

⁶⁴ Fondra (1669), p. 80: '[...] Di tal spoglia si gloria / Barbara morte invan; spento da l'ira / Mortal non è de la grand'alma il zelo; / Immortale dal cielo / Pugna per l'Adria, astro di ferro, e inspira / Forza a le destre, a i cor sensi di gloria: / Di posthuma vittoria / I trofei già rimiro, e la grand'ombra / Sin ne la sfera sua la luna adombra'.

⁶⁵ Funerary poems were generally known to sculptors and architects and were often used as sources of inspiration for monuments, as my analysis of the interaction between word and image in Chapter Two has demonstrated. See above, pp. 102-20.

memorial of Antonio Barbaro.

5. The Dynastic Monument of Antonio Barbaro on the Façade of Santa Maria del Giglio

Antonio Barbaro (1627-79) was a Cretan War veteran and a member of a Venetian patrician family.⁶⁶ Antonio served in Candia, where he was Captain of the Gulf between 1655 and 1656 and *Provveditore generale* in 1667. After the Cretan War, he was *podestà* in Padua in 1672-73 and in 1675 he was appointed the Venetian ambassador in Rome until 1678, when he eventually returned to Venice.⁶⁷ In October 1678 Antonio penned his last will and testament, leaving 30,000 ducats for the erection of a new façade in Santa Maria del Giglio, Venice, incorporating a dynastic monument to himself and his family (Figs 75-80). Santa Maria del Giglio was the ideal choice for erecting a dynastic monument, because Barbaro was a *procuratore* of that church.⁶⁸ Furthermore, the patronage of the Barbaro family was an opportunity to refurbish one of the oldest Venetian churches in line with the new trends which were promoted by patrician families in the field of ecclesiastical architecture.⁶⁹ The architectural programme was devised by Giuseppe Sardi according to a description of the façade and a drawing which had been left by Antonio in his will in 1678.⁷⁰

The erection of the monument was supervised by Antonio's executors and took

⁶⁶ For a biography of Antonio Barbaro and the historical background of the Barbaro family, see Gino Benzoni, 'Antonio Barbaro o l'exasperazione individualistica', in *Una famiglia veneziana nella storia: i Barbaro. Atti del convegno di studi in occasione del quinto centenario della morte dell'umanista Ermolao, Venezia, 4-6 Novembre 1993*, eds Michela Marangoni and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1996), pp. 461-511.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 490-91 and 502.

⁶⁸ Gaier (2002), p. 336.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 336. For the patronage of patrician families on church buildings in late seventeenth-century Venice, see *ibid.*, esp. pp. 287-352.

⁷⁰ ASV, *Notarile, Testamenti*, notaio *Domenico Garzoni Paulini*, b. 487, n. 48, cited by Gaier (2002), pp. 542-46.

place between 1679 and 1681. The sculptural decorations were executed by Giusto Le Court and Heinrich Meyring. Le Court can be credited with Antonio's portrait statue and probably the statues of Francesco and Martino Barbaro in the lower register, while Meyring sculpted the portraits of Giovanni Maria and Carlo Barbaro, as well as the allegorical figures.⁷¹

The erection of a dynastic monument on the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio has been construed as an attempt to rehabilitate the prestige of Antonio Barbaro and his family.⁷² The Barbaro family was one of the least wealthy patrician families in Venice. Antonio's four brothers, who are also celebrated in the four portrait statues in the lower order of the façade, passed away without issue, thereby leaving Antonio as the last surviving member of the main branch of the Barbaro family.⁷³ According to this interpretation, Antonio saw the erection of the façade as his last chance to revive the reputation of his family as one of the most prominent within Venetian

⁷¹ Crosbie (2015a), pp. 182, 188. For an overview of the Barbaro monument, see the following studies: Julian Gallego, 'Façades vénitiennes à perspective verticale', *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 3 (1968), pp. 591-92; Frank (1985-86), p. 125; Palumbo Fossati (1988), pp. 102-04; Giuseppe Maria Pilo, 'Piante secentesche di Spalato e di Zara sulla chiesa veneziana di Santa Maria del Giglio', *Prijateljstvo Zbornik II* 33 (1992), pp. 279-90; Piffaretti (1996), pp. 57-58 and 99-101; Rudolf Breuing, *Enrico Meyring 1628-1723. Ein Bildhauer aus Westfalen in Venedig* (Rheine: Stadt Rheine, 1997), pp. 91-98; Martina Fresa, 'La facciata, racconto per immagini su pietra', in *Santa Maria del Giglio. Il restauro della facciata*, ed. Marina Fresa (Venice: Marsilio, 1997), pp. 3-13; Paola Rossi, 'La decorazione scultorea della facciata', in Fresa (1997), pp. 15-39; Casini (2001), pp. 244-45; Gaier (2002), pp. 334-52 and 540-50; Favilla and Rugolo (2004-05), pp. 69-86; Roca de Amicis (2008), pp. 269-71; Favilla and Rugolo (2009), pp. 37-46; Matteo Casini, 'Some Thoughts on the Social and Political Culture of Baroque Venice', in *Braudel Revisited: the Mediterranean World, 1600-1800*, ed. Gabriel Piterberg et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), pp. 194-95; Crosbie (2015a), pp. 182-88.

⁷² Gaier (2002), pp. 334-52. Marina Fresa noted that by celebrating Antonio as a naval captain, the façade also reflected Antonio's intention to aggrandise his status in rivalry with the then admiral and later doge Francesco Morosini. Morosini, unlike Antonio, was a naval captain in 1667 during the Cretan War. When Antonio made his will, he specified that the new façade of Santa Maria del Giglio should be oriented eastwards, thereby facing the nearby family palace of Francesco Morosini. In this way, Antonio took revenge for not having been nominated naval captain and remonstrated his disapproval of Morosini's policies. For a summary of the entire episode, see Fresa (1997), pp. 5-6.

⁷³ Gaier (2002), p. 351.

aristocracy. Although this reading is not unsubstantiated, it does not provide a full comprehension of the façade and of his rhetorical message. In this section I will seek to demonstrate that the religious framework of the façade is a pivotal component of Antonio's dynastic and self-celebration. By transforming a church façade into an honorific monument, Antonio attempted to publicly assert his service to the state as an act of both self-sacrifice and religious piety. To clarify this point, I will firstly propose an iconographical reading of the façade. A comparative reading of the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio and other dynastic monuments which were erected on church façades will allow us to contextualise Antonio's monument in relation to its artistic genre and iconographic tradition. Secondly, an analysis of Antonio's self-sacrifice in relation to the religious and cultural framework of the façade will help to clarify the significance of Antonio's dynastic monument and the latent rhetorical implications of his aggrandisement.

The façade of Santa Maria del Giglio is divided into three horizontal registers which allude to the three objects of celebration: Antonio, his brothers and his family (Fig. 75). In the lower register, paired, Ionic columns on tall pedestals alternate with niches accommodating the statues of Antonio's brothers and the main portal at the centre. The bas-reliefs on the pedestals represent the plans of the cities where Antonio served in a number of important posts. These are, from the left, Zadar, Candia, Padua, Rome, Corfu and Split. In the second register, bas-reliefs with scenes of naval battles support an order of Corinthian columns which mirrors and prolongs the thrust of the Ionic columns on the first register. In the lateral niches between the

Corinthian columns are personifications of *Virtue* (on the left) and *Honour* (on the right) while at the two ends of the pedestals are the statues of *Fame* and *Wisdom*.⁷⁴ In the central niche, the statue of Antonio wearing the uniform of *Capitano da mar* is set against a drape supported by two putti (Fig. 76). On the top, the attic features the coat of arms of the Barbaro family, crowned and set against a sculpted drape held by telamones. Finally, above the pediment and on the lateral broken pediments at the level of the attic, Sardi displayed the personification of *Glory* flanked by recumbent allegories of the four *Cardinal Virtues*.⁷⁵

The direct architectural model for the Barbaro monument is the façade of Santa Maria di Nazareth, Venice (Fig. 81).⁷⁶ The design for this façade, which was also devised by Sardi between 1672 and 1680, was financed by Girolamo Cavazza, a Venetian citizen who was aggregated to the patriciate in 1653. The coat of arms of the Cavazza family is clearly visible on the pediment of the façade to recall the generosity of Girolamo, who was a benefactor of the Discalced Carmelites in charge of the church, and left 75,000 ducats for the erection of the new façade. However, the self-celebrative intentions which are central to the Barbaro monument, are somehow attenuated because the coat of arms of the Cavazza family is set amid a sculptural decoration which clearly declares the religious character of the façade.⁷⁷ After all, the proper commemoration of the Cavazza family was destined for another

⁷⁴ The statues and allegorical personifications displayed in the Barbaro monument were described by Giuseppe Sardi in the iconographical programme attached to Antonio's will. See ASV, *Notarile, Testamenti*, b. 487, n. 48, f. 44r-v, cited by Gaier (2002), p. 544.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Gaier (2002), pp. 334-35.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 334.

place: when the façade was erected, Girolamo had already requested a sepulchral monument for himself and his family in the church of the Madonna dell'Orto in Venice (1657).⁷⁸ Although the resemblances of the structure between the façades of Santa Maria del Giglio and Santa Maria di Nazareth are quite evident, it is necessary to look for other sources of inspiration.

The façade of Santa Maria del Giglio combines two typologies of funerary monuments: dynastic monuments of Venetian patrician families on church façades; and monuments to Venetian captains in church interiors. Martin Gaier observed that the so-called commemorative façades are a sort of extension – on a more magniloquent and rhetorical scale – of the dynastic monuments which were in that period still being erected along the walls of churches.⁷⁹ By the 1670s, the erection of dynastic monuments on the façades of Venetian churches was a well-established custom.⁸⁰ It is in fact possible to mention at least two dynastic monuments which might have had an impact on the erection of the Barbaro monument. The first example is Longhena's façade of Santa Giustina, which displays busts of the members of the Soranzo family (Fig. 82).⁸¹ The second example is the dynastic monument of the Cappello family at Santa Maria Formosa which incorporates the life-size statue of the naval captain Vincenzo Cappello on the main façade, and three

⁷⁸ For the Cavazza monument, see Paola Rossi, 'Il monumento a Girolamo Cavazza', in *La chiesa del Tintoretto: Madonna dell'Orto*, eds Lino Moretti, Antonio Niero and Paola Rossi (Venice: Parrocchia Madonna dell'Orto, 1994), pp. 38-47. For the façade of Santa Maria di Nazareth, see Piffaretti (1996), pp. 41-47, and Gaier (2002), pp. 334-35. For a biography of Girolamo, see Gino Benzoni, *Cavazza, Gerolamo*, in DBI, vol. 23 (1979), pp. 42-47. Gaier observes that the personifications of *Virtue* and *Honour* in the Barbaro monument in Santa Maria del Giglio imitate the same figures as they were sculpted by Le Court in the Cavazza monument. See Gaier (2002), p. 345.

⁷⁹ Gaier (2002), *passim*, esp. p. 23.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 305-52.

⁸¹ For Santa Giustina, see Gaier (2002), pp. 263-70; Frank (2004), pp. 174-82; Hopkins (2012), p. 166.

busts of other members of the family on the northern façade (Fig. 83).⁸² The erection of dynastic monuments on these façades responded to a need on the part of Venetian patrician families to revive their prestige.⁸³ The prestige, the power and the wealth of the *casata* were at the core of the dynastic celebration of patrician families. By erecting dynastic monuments on a church façade, the patricians enlivened the aristocratic status of their *casata* and claimed their dynastic ties with their parishes.⁸⁴ The reputation of the *casata* was of exceptional importance, especially for the celebration of the Venetian captains. As Matteo Casini observed, the noble origins of the patrician families allowed the Venetian captains to secure the recognition of their glory by the aristocracy, as well as by the ordinary people.⁸⁵ By financing the erection of the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio and by aggrandising himself as a naval captain, therefore, Antonio Barbaro reinvigorated the vestiges of his *casata* as a family of patricians and high-ranking captains.

Looking at the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio more carefully (Fig. 75), the spectator in fact realises that the statue of Antonio represents the apex of a dynastic celebration aiming at sacralising the name of Antonio and his family. From bottom to top, the viewer is firstly engaged by the bas-reliefs with fortresses, an allusion of the *cursus honorum* of Barbaro and an emblem of his feats during the Cretan War.

⁸² Gaier (2002), pp. 178-206 and 260-63; Frank (2004), pp. 331-33.

⁸³ Gaier (2002), pp. 269-70; Scholars observed that the Soranzo family also saw a way to assert a political statement in the erection of the façade of Santa Giustina. Girolamo Soranzo, the commissioner of the façade, was an advocate of the “anti-papal party” in the Venetian government and gained the support of the Venetian senate which ultimately approved the erection of the new façade. The entire episode is summarised by Favilla and Rugolo (2004-05), pp. 66-67.

⁸⁴ Concina (1995b), pp. 68-79; Gaier (2002), *passim*, esp. pp. 11-22.

⁸⁵ Casini (2010), p. 197.

Looking upwards, the sight is captured by the life-size figures of Antonio's brothers. Having passed through the bas-reliefs with the battles – a further allusion to the *cursus honorum* of Antonio – the spectator finally observes the life-size statue of Antonio himself, to whom the final apotheosis belongs. Barbaro is standing in front of a canopy, and the majesty of his pose is prolonged along the vertical axis by his coat of arms and by the personification of *Glory* above the broken pediment.

Funerary monuments to Venetian captains in church interiors, another source of inspiration for the Barbaro monument, generally represented a life-size statue of the deceased in military uniform standing above a sarcophagus.⁸⁶ When executing the sculpted portrait of Antonio Barbaro (Fig. 76), Le Court repeated his own design of the statue of Caterino Cornaro in Sant'Antonio, which was unveiled in 1674 (Fig. 65).⁸⁷ Antonio and Caterino not only wear the same military uniform, but also appear in an almost identical pose. They both turn their gaze to the left, hold the baton of command in the right hand, and their bodies are represented in a similar, albeit inverted, contrapposto. Antonio's statue is set on a sculpted drape held up by two putti which replace the coats of arms in the Cornaro monument. Finally, Antonio's statue is also flanked by military trophies. Thus the sculptural design of Antonio's statue directly derives from the Cornaro monument in Sant'Antonio.

Another direct source for the Barbaro monument is the monument to Captain Alvise Mocenigo which was devised by the same architect, Giuseppe Sardi, on the counter-façade of San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti in 1658 (Fig. 68). Both monuments

⁸⁶ See above Section 1 in this chapter.

⁸⁷ Ivanoff (1948), pp. 122-23.

show similar architectural design in displaying the statue of the deceased in a niche above the portal, and the bas-reliefs depicting battles and fortresses are similar to those of Santa Maria del Giglio.⁸⁸ The Mocenigo monument was a tribute to the civic, ethic and religious significance assumed by Alvise's sacrifice, which inspired the aggrandisement of Antonio.⁸⁹ Although Antonio never fell on the battlefield and was never appointed as naval captain, his self-celebration on the façade was justified insofar as it was conceived as an act of religious piety, a concept to which I shall return in the next section.

To better comprehend the way in which Antonio's self-celebration was devised, I will compare the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio with the Pesaro monument. Just as in the Pesaro monument Longhena codified the essence of ducal magistracy in a well-designed monument, so too Sardi codified the essence of the image of the Venetian captain in a memorial incorporated in a church's façade. The relationship between the Barbaro and the Pesaro monuments becomes more evident if one compares the elevation of the doge's persona in the Pesaro monument with Barbaro's aggrandisement in Santa Maria del Giglio. In the Frari, the peak of the celebration is marked by the enthroned doge under the sculpted baldachin and by the Pesaro family coat of arms held aloft and crowned by two putti (Fig. 35). In Santa Maria del Giglio, the statue of Antonio in front of a sculpted canopy is supported by

⁸⁸ See Gaier (2002), p. 347. As we have seen above in Section 1 in this chapter, Le Court also took the Mocenigo monument as a model for the Cornaro monument, whose design he repeated on the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio.

⁸⁹ Fresa (1997), p. 8.

a pedestal which is placed in front of the sarcophagus (Fig. 76);⁹⁰ a solution which evokes both the idea of remembrance and a suggestion of triumph. In the uppermost register, the coat of arms of the Barbaro family (Fig. 77b) proclaims Antonio's accomplishments as both the cause and effect of the apotheosis of his family. Not coincidentally, the coat of arms stands out before a drape which matches and doubles the canopy which is shown behind Antonio's statue. Moreover, whereas the canopy is sustained by two putti, the drape behind the coat of arms is held by two telamones (Fig. 77a, c). Contrarily to the Moors of the Pesaro monument, the telamones in the Barbaro monument show a more conventional iconography. They take the likenesses of Herculean half-naked figures, but they do not seem to have attributes which would qualify them as slaves.

The most suggestive point of contact between the Pesaro and the Barbaro monuments is the presence of statues of allegorical personifications. The personifications of *Glory*, *Fame* and the intellectual qualities which were traditional elements of funerary monuments are here exploited to enhance Antonio's self-celebration. Displayed on the pedestals on the lateral wings of the façade and on the broken pediment, these personifications encircle the façade and create a sort of half-circular frame around Antonio's statue and the coat of arms of the Barbaro family. Whereas the personification of *Wisdom* holding a book (Fig. 78) is vaguely reminiscent of *Study* in the Pesaro monument (Fig. 39), the trumpet of *Fame* (Fig. 79)

⁹⁰ According to Gaier, Antonio's statue is supported by a pedestal which is "combined" with the sarcophagus. A closer look at the statue reveals that the pedestal is actually in front of the sarcophagus, and not combined with it. Cf. Gaier (2002), p. 346.

announces the glorification of Antonio. On the acroterium of the pediment, the personification of *Glory* (Fig. 80) in place of the statue of the Virgin epitomizes the fusion between aggrandisement and self-celebration which is implicit in the entire façade.

6. Antonio Barbaro's Self-Sacrifice as an Act of Religious Piety

In Venice, civic heroism was regarded as the most virtuous code of conduct which demonstrated one's virtues and devotion to the state. The republican ethos saw service to the state as a way to assess the civic and religious zeal of the Venetians. In his *Pompe funebri*, Marco Trevisan recalled Venice's unimpeachable devotion and religious faith.⁹¹ The acknowledgment of an eminently civic valour in the religious zeal of the Venetian citizens was a tool to allow the evaluation of their code of conduct and moral responsibilities. For this reason, Trevisan explained that in Venice everyone had the moral obligation to take up arms, if this was necessary to prove one's religious piety and willingness to serve the state.⁹² As Trevisan further observed, the equivalence between state, religion and civic heroism ultimately responded to a didactic function: it taught new generations to emulate the deeds of their predecessors, thereby contributing to the perpetuation and incrementation of the glory of the Venetian republic.⁹³

⁹¹ Trevisan (1673), p. 29.

⁹² Trevisan (1673), p. 29: '[...] questa grande, et ammirabil Republica, la quale come non hebbe mai pregio maggiore, che la coltivatione della cattolica fede, e la pietà religiosa; così non tralascia occasion veruna per dimostrarsi tale, e più volentieri impugna la spada per questa fede, in cui spera la perpetuità del suo nome [...]']

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 36-37: '[...] (Questi, sono i grandi, e benemeriti cittadini, che *fortia agunt, et patintur*, morendo per la Fede, e per la Patria) così la grandezza della nostra patria potrà divenir sempre maggiore, e formidabile se ciascheduno de' suoi figli si proponnerà il *facere scribenda*, ben sapendo, che

It is possible to demonstrate that seventeenth-century observers of Santa Maria del Giglio acknowledged the civic and religious message of Antonio's self-celebration. First and foremost, it is worth observing that Alvise Baratti, the priest of Santa Maria del Giglio, never impeded the erection of the new façade as an honorific monument to Antonio.⁹⁴ Rather, the priest supported the erection of the Barbaro monument, which would eventually contribute to the beauty of his church and to the increase of the prestige of Venice as a republic of heroes.⁹⁵ Secondly, even before the erection of the monument, admirers of Antonio extolled his deeds and recognised them as acts of religious piety. For example, the author of an anonymous account of Venice written between 1659 and 1664 acclaimed Antonio as 'the best soldier of the Republic', and said that 'no other Venetian soldier could have deserved the dignity of *Capitano da mar* more than him'.⁹⁶ Moreover, even an illustrious member of the Venetian clergy such as Cardinal Gregorio Barbarigo sympathised with the death of Antonio as a 'Christian soldier' and lamented and praised that 'death lays everyone bare and delights our parish [Santa Maria del Giglio] with the Thracian's spoils'.⁹⁷ Finally, after the unveiling of the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio,

diverso itinere pari cupiditate ad gloriam itur, come insegnò Plinio secondo'.

⁹⁴ Favilla and Rugolo (2004-05), pp. 72, 83.

⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 83-85.

⁹⁶ 'Antonio Barbaro [...] è il miglior soldato della Repubblica. [...] ma essendo di povera casa e casa mal veduta, stenterà a far passaggio, e pure nissuno meriterebbe più di lui la dignità di Capitan Generale', quoted by Pompeo Molmenti, *Curiosità di storia veneziana* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1919), p. 407. This document was transcribed and published for the first time by Molmenti in 1919. Molmenti observes that the anonymous author was probably a Venetian patrician or a foreigner who lived in Venice and was well-informed on its citizens and institutions. He furthermore explains that the text was rediscovered in the State Archives of Turin, although Molmenti does not elucidate the circumstances of its rediscovery, nor does he provide archival information useful to find the document. See Molmenti (1919), pp. 300-01 and 359-438. See also Casini (2001), p. 223.

⁹⁷ Cited in Benzoni (1996), pp. 502 and 511, and Favilla and Rugolo (2005), p. 86: '[...] la morte spoglia tutti e fa godere delle spoglie rapite al fiero Trace alla nostra parrocchia'.

seventeenth-century observers praised the civic and religious implications implicit in Antonio's memorial, as observed by the chronicler Casimir Freschot in the second edition of his *Nobiltà Veneta*:

[Antonio Barbaro] is made immortal by the mausoleum he left for the admiration of his countrymen and the adornment of temples. After generously bequeathing his valuable treasures to the refurbishment of Santa Maria Zobenigo, and after the execution of that superb monument which adorns the church's façade with finely decorated marbles had been finished, he found a way to involve even God in that magnificent spectacle and to perpetuate his memories in glorious eternity.⁹⁸

In light of these considerations, it proves to be inaccurate to read the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio as a violation of the sacrality of the church, as has been concluded in previous scholarship.⁹⁹

It should also be noted that Antonio's aggrandisement as a Christian soldier worthy of being remembered in a church's façade is symptomatic of Venice's interest in celebrating its heroes as part of the survival of its myth.¹⁰⁰ The greatness of Venice was once again the result of the achievements of soldiers like Antonio, whose deeds are further celebrated in the bas-reliefs on the façade. For example, the bas-relief representing the fortress of Candia, situated at eye level at the bottom left,

⁹⁸ Freschot (1707), p. 266: '[...] reso immortale nel Mausoleo lasciato all'ammirazione della sua Patria, e decoratione de' tempi; imperochè consacrati dalla sua pietà gl'ampij suoi tesori alla reedificatione della Chiesa di S. Maria Zubenigo, e di già finita quella superba mole, che con lavoro isquisito de marmi, ne orna la facciata, ha trovato l'arte d'impegnar Iddio stesso in quel teatro di magnificenza, a conservar ne' fasti dell'eternità gloriosa le sue memorie'.

⁹⁹ Benzoni (1996), pp. 506-07; Gaier (2002), pp. 334-52.

¹⁰⁰ As also suggested by Rossi (1997), p. 37, and Favilla and Rugolo (2004-05), p. 85.

has generally been interpreted as an almost pathetic homage to the outpost Venice lost in 1669.¹⁰¹ Yet, despite the surrender of Candia, Venice never lost its regal status, as explained in a manuscript account of the resolution between Venice and the Ottoman Empire in 1669.¹⁰² As the author of this document observed, the quintessence of Venice was its undisputed regal status, and Venice's victories over the Turks contributed more to its glory than the dominion of Candia itself.¹⁰³ When Venice surrendered Candia in 1669, Venetian ideology reached its peak in order to fill the gap left by the loss of that territory. Despite the negative outcome of the Cretan War, the loss of Candia enforced the political and cultural significance Venice had conferred on that territory as part of the Venetian maritime empire.¹⁰⁴ Thus, the bas-relief representing Candia in the Barbaro monument goes beyond a mere commemorative function: it aggrandises the significance Candia had in the Venetian celebratory imagery and immortalises Antonio's commitment to serving the state.

Antonio's celebration in Santa Maria del Giglio is an iconic image of heroism. As an artefact, Antonio's portrait statue is an abstract representation of idealised qualities which were generally attributed to the *Capitano da mar*. When these qualities merge with a tangible image, Antonio's representation becomes iconic and his status

¹⁰¹ Gino Benzoni, 'Celebrazione pubblica e celebrazione gentilizia', *Ateneo veneto* 28 (1990), p. 61.

¹⁰² BMV, MS It. Cl. VII, 656 (7791), *Trascorso politico sopra la pace fatta tra la Repubblica di Venezia et il Gran Turco l'anno 1669*, quoted by Cozzi (1986), p. 157.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

¹⁰⁴ For Candia as part of Venice's maritime and civic identity, see Maria Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies. Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). See also the recent contribution by Johanna D. Heinrichs, 'The Topography of Antiquity in Descriptions of Venetian Crete', in *Architecture, Art and Identity in Venice and its Territories, 1450-1750. Essays in Honour of Deborah Howard*, eds Nebahat Avcioglu and Emma Jones (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 205-18, and the bibliography mentioned therein.

is aggrandised into a quasi-sacral symbol.¹⁰⁵ In this regard, the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio is the figurative counterpart of a funerary oration.¹⁰⁶ Like a written eulogy, the façade symbolically raises Antonio to the rank of a great hero, thereby recalling once again the principle upon which iconic images (both literary and figurative) work. The term “icon” (*eikōn*) in fact refers both to a visual representation of things (*imago*) and to the figure of speech rhetoricians used in composing eulogies, the comparison (*comparatio*).¹⁰⁷ By comparing the image of Antonio to an ideal captain, the *comparatio* merges with the *elogium* and together contribute to rendering Antonio an iconic figure. Indeed, one might infer that Antonio’s celebration in Santa Maria del Giglio is deceptive. The deception which occurs in the Barbaro monument is deliberate because it is justified by the ideological framework of the façade. In fact, it has been suggested that Antonio’s intent is ultimately an expression of the traditional liberty which had characterised Venice and its citizens since its origins.¹⁰⁸ The self-celebration of the individual, and the act of advertising one’s deeds in a funerary monument erected on a church’s façade, were acceptable only if these were visibly subject to an ideology of a city state composed of free citizens.¹⁰⁹ Observed from this perspective, the allegedly outrageous self-celebration in the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio can be tolerated in the context of Venice’s traditional liberty. The

¹⁰⁵ On the concept of “iconic” and “exemplar” image, see Claude Bremond, Jacques Le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmitt, *L’“Exemplum”* (Brepols: Turnhout, 1996), pp. 27-38, esp. p. 33. Cf. also Raines (2006), p. 205.

¹⁰⁶ See Gallego (1968), p. 592.

¹⁰⁷ For the theoretical background, see Luciano di Samosata, *Descrizioni di opere d’arte*, ed. Sonia Maffei (Turin: Einaudi, 1994), p. xlv.

¹⁰⁸ Favilla and Rugolo (2005), pp. 85-86.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

conjoined civic and religious valour of Antonio's sacrifice becomes a fundamental component of the republican ethos.

This analysis of the Barbaro monument can be further substantiated through analysis of panegyric poems which were written to extol Antonio's deeds. Similarly to the eulogies in honour of Giovanni Pesaro or Caterino Cornaro, those in honour of Antonio allude to or describe monuments characterised as tributes to his victories against the Ottoman Empire. The point is made clear in a collection of poems edited by the panegyrist Masperoni Rizzardo in 1673.¹¹⁰ In this compilation, the tribute to Antonio is first conceived as part of the celebration of his family. The coat of arms of the Barbaro family, printed on the title page, is surmounted by a crown and recalls the coat of arms which is sculpted on the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio.¹¹¹ The function of the printed coat of arms is to introduce the reader to the celebration of Antonio and his family as described in the poems. The coats of arms in the book and on the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio are symbolic of a dynastic celebration which is conveyed in writing and in monuments. It is certainly not a coincidence that the frontispieces of the panegyric literary genre recall the architecture of wall-monuments or ephemeral apparatuses in royal celebrations.¹¹² Like the title page of a collection of eulogies, the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio transforms the Barbaro monument into a temple to the fame and glory of the Barbaro family, as a sonnet published in

¹¹⁰ Masperoni Rizzardo, *Applausi gloriosissimi decantati dalla fama all'immortal merito dell'illustrissimo, et eccellentissimo Antonio Barbaro* (Padova: Giovan Battista Pasquati, 1673).

¹¹¹ Ibid., unnumbered page. Unfortunately, I have not been able to provide a picture of the title page. A copy of Rizzardo's book is in the library of the Museo Correr, Venice.

¹¹² For this topic, see Bouchery (1956), pp. 431-42; Fumaroli (1995), pp. 485-86; Casini (2004), pp. 36-37.

Rizzardo's book suggests: 'Illustrious progeny descending from a generation of heroes, / the entire world and even a mass of quarried marbles honour your glories and actions'.¹¹³ In this way, the celebration of Antonio in these poems revives the prestige of his family.

Other poems edited by Rizzardo invoke statues and monuments whose erection has no other purpose than eternalising Antonio's achievements: '[...] Your victories aim only to be immortalised in bronzes and marbles, / your achievements are already recorded in eloquent discourses and lyrical poems'.¹¹⁴ The interaction between printed word and sculpted image is further exploited in a sonnet by Annibale Pellizzoni. Using wordplay, Pellizzoni observes that just as Antonio's sword made his deeds memorable, so too the eloquence of poets immortalised his achievements in poems and panegyrics.¹¹⁵ A more direct reference to Antonio's monument is evident in poems which evoke Antonio's virtues which are also represented on the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio and which compared him to a Christian soldier. Especially interesting is the allusion to *Fame* and *Wisdom*. In a sonnet, Vincenzo Fornari firstly observes that fame and wisdom enhance the reputation of Antonio and honour his family with immortal glory: 'Fame spreads its wings around your wisdom and

¹¹³ Rizzardo (1673), p. 127: 'O di ceppo d'heroi illustra prole, / la di cui Gloria, e gesti il mondo honora, / vengono a tributarti, i monti ancora / di ribattuti marmi eccelsa mole'.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 32: '[...] Le tue vittorie non faranno al fine, / che scolpirti immortale in bronzi, e marmi, / e già cigni facondi in prose, e carmi / portan tuoi gesti per ogni confine'. The same theme appears in other poems published in the same collection. See *ibid.*, pp. 126 and 127: '[...] Poiché ogni creatura ch'ha ragione / Offerisce all'heroe, che dal ciel venne / Scettri, statue, trofei, palme e corone'; '[...] Con qual vena canora, o arguti carmi / Cantar si può tue lodi, o eroe preclaro: / tu sempre ti mostrassi inclito, e raro, / degno di esser scolpito in sodi marmi'.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 80: '[...] Dunque in ambe [the sword and the pen of poets] il valor pari si scopre; / ne corpi eterna quella i tuoi stupori, / ne tue carte immortal fa questa l'opre'.

prudence, and with glory it renders your name immortal'.¹¹⁶ Then Fornari acclaims Antonio as a soldier sent by God whose deeds must be acknowledged with 'sceptres, statues, trophies, palms, and crowns'.¹¹⁷ Finally, a poem in Venetian dialect extols Antonio as a Christian soldier whose victories over the Ottomans brought him fame in Venice and further afield in the whole of Europe.¹¹⁸ In this way, the rhetorical values invoked by these poems are mirrored in the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio, and both are complementary in aggrandising Antonio as an iconic figure.

* * *

This chapter has focused on the ideological reasons which stimulated the execution of funerary monuments as a tribute to the Venetian citizens who had perished or fought against the Ottoman Empire. Traditionally regarded as a moral obligation, service to the state is rewarded with funerary monuments in return for sacrifices made by Venetian citizens. In the aftermath of the Cretan War, the number of these monument increased as a result of two main factors: the idealisation of death as an instrument of glorification and aggrandisement; and the liberty which Venice historically bestowed on its citizens, regardless of their social status.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 126: '[...] Spiega la Fama eterna intorno l'ale / Della Sapienza, e gran prudenza vostra, / e con la Gloria alteramente giostra / il buon nome di voi reso immortale'. For an allusion to the personification of *Honour*, see ibid., p. 115: '[...] l'oprar suo [Antonio's] sempr'è all'onor congiunto'.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 126: '[...] Poiché ogni creatura c'ha ragione / Offerisce all'heroe, che dal ciel venne / Scettri, statue, trofei, palme, e corone'.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 117: 'Col generoso cuor, col ferro in man / Un Barbaro chrestian ch'è tutto pio / Ha difeso la fede, e un regno a Dio / Contro il furor d'un Barbaro ottoman. / Quant'ha operà per il mondo chrestian / La Fama per l'Europa porta el Crio'.

The physical body of the deceased assumed renewed importance within celebratory rhetoric: on the one hand, the hardship of wartime was the object of compassionate panegyrics which were composed during and after the Cretan War. On the other, the suffering caused by the war was emblematic of the fate met by the Venetian soldiers as a necessary step in achieving their immortality. In both the Cornaro and the Barbaro monuments, the self-sacrifice of Venetian captains is invoked, although in two very different ways. The Cornaro monument is a tribute to Caterino's ultimate sacrifice. For this reason, the monument emphasises the significance of Caterino's death by exhibiting his life-size statue victoriously triumphing over defeated slaves. Moreover, the commemoration of Caterino's death in poems invoking imaginary monuments in honour of Caterino contributed to emphasis of the valour of his civic heroism. In the Barbaro monument, the commemoration of Antonio's service to the state and his aggrandisement as a naval captain are conceived as acts of religious piety. Among the seventeenth-century Venetian dynastic monuments erected on a church façade, Santa Maria del Giglio is probably the most self-referential. The aggrandisement of Antonio can be justified solely as an attempt to showcase civic heroism, the republican ethos and religious devotion all at once. Conceived in this way, the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio celebrates Antonio as the person who saw an opportunity in his dynastic monument to exhibit both his pedigree and his devotion to the state.

In the seventeenth century, the ideological triumph of the individual led to a larger portion of the patriciate willing to celebrate itself in monuments to its glory.

The façade of Santa Maria del Giglio is a result of this tendency and becomes part of Venice's traditional imagery and a symbol of the Republic's utopian and mythic dimensions. Nonetheless, service to the state is not limited to taking up arms. Serving Venice also implies contributing to the life of the country through a range of activities in which Venetian citizens are involved regardless of their rank. One of the most remarkable outcomes of the Venetian myth is its capacity to reward citizens who in one way or another contribute to the wealth of their country. What happened, then, when "ordinary" citizens also claimed recompense for their service to the state in the form of lavish monuments? If eminent Venetians like Doge Giovanni Pesaro or Antonio Barbaro were allowed to be glorified in such a way, could other citizens aspire to the same honour? To answer these questions it is necessary to analyse another genre of monuments, those in honour of Venetian citizens who were admitted to the nobility after 1646.

Chapter Four

The Critical Reception of Longhena's Pesaro Monument: Funerary Monuments to Venetian Merchants and *cittadini*

As a representative art, architecture is traditionally an instrument of and a vehicle for identity.¹ The concept of identity is defined by the process of identification, which is 'the way the subject projects itself and is responsible for the multifaceted substance of identity'.² As the process of identification has evolved, so too has Venetian identity been continuously renegotiated and reimagined in the course of history.³ In Venice, architecture fashioned the way in which the representation of the self was perceived. As a result, architecture carried the essence of a certain historical period, thereby assuming aesthetic and cultural styles illustrative of a society in a specific moment in time and space.

This chapter focuses on the architectural patronage of Venetian merchants and *cittadini* as a means of expressing their identity as the members of the Venetian community. A class known as *cittadini originari* was created in the aftermath of the *serrata*, a measure taken by the Great Council in 1297 which excluded non-patrician families from the government of Venice.⁴ In the following centuries, a growing

¹ Carmen Popescu, 'Space, Time: Identity', *National Identities* 8/3 (2006), pp. 189-206.

² Ibid., p. 191.

³ For an overview of the academic literature on this topic, see the essays edited by Nebahat and Jones (2013), esp. pp. 1-12.

⁴ Andrea Zannini, *Burocrazia e burocrati a Venezia in età moderna: i cittadini originari (sec. XVI-XVIII)* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1993), p. 25.

number of *cittadini*, both Venetian and naturalised, increased their power and wealth, especially by taking control of the administration and the artistic patronage of the four main charitable confraternities, the *Scuole grandi*. In the seventeenth century, a significant number of non-Venetian citizens were aggregated to the patriciate as a result of the financial collapse of the Venetian treasury during the military campaigns in Candia and Morea.⁵ On the one hand, the sum of 100,000 ducats required to be admitted to the nobility secured the Venetian treasury with enough funds to pursue the war against the Ottomans. On the other, the ennoblement of non-patrician families modified the configuration of the social stratification of Venice. How did Venetian *cittadini* perceive themselves as part of the community? Becoming patricians implied that the *cittadini* had the capacity to conform to an aristocratic lifestyle. How, then, did the *cittadini* respond to the needs of their new rank, and which models did they seek to imitate? Ultimately, how did this ennoblement contribute to a particular sense of self and a desire for self-promotion? This chapter explores these and other related questions by focusing on the funerary monuments which were commissioned by Venetian merchants and *cittadini* as instruments of upward mobility and social affirmation.

Traditionally in Venice, the principle of *mediocritas*, that is, of being one among equals, reigned supreme.⁶ Scholars demonstrated that the self-discipline demanded by this idealised vision of Venice often contrasted with the ambitions and influence

⁵ On this topic, see Zannini (1993); Roberto Sabbadini, *L'acquisto della tradizione. Tradizione aristocratica e nuova nobiltà a Venezia* (Udine: Istituto Editoriale Veneto Friulano, 1995); Raines (2006), pp. 631-702; Blake De Maria, *Becoming Venetian: Immigrants and the Arts in Early Modern Venice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

⁶ Tafuri (1985), pp. 3-23.

of great figures, especially in the matters of artistic and architectural patronage.⁷ For centuries, it was solely the privilege of the patriciate to flaunt its wealth in the form of magnificent palaces. Aristocratic families sought a means of expressing their noble lifestyle in the arts.⁸ Architectural patronage offered a representation of the self which mirrored the prestige of the patrician lineage. When families excluded from the nobility gained access to the patriciate and public offices, they were keen to adopt the same attitudes as the aristocracy, its code of honour and lifestyle. By 1646, the advent of new noble families created a demand for prominent palaces as declarations of their new status.⁹ They were eager to display their wealth on the façade of their palaces. Despite varying approaches to architectural patronage,¹⁰ the façade became an emblem of the prestige and power which had been achieved by the aggregated families. Besides the new nobles, families who had enriched themselves by dealing with commerce also played an important role. As trade (*mercatura*) was traditionally deemed one of the mechanical arts, it was considered highly objectionable that merchants could become patricians through the money raised from their servile profession.¹¹ Nonetheless, this phenomenon had repercussions for the social makeup of the Venetian citizenry: between 1646 and 1718, seventy-three out of 128 families aggregated to the patriciate were merchants.¹² It will come as little surprise,

⁷ See for example the case studies analysed by Tafuri (1985).

⁸ Cf. Sabbadini (1995), p. 163. For the architectural patronage of naturalised Venetian citizens, see De Maria (2010).

⁹ Hopkins (2012), p. 182.

¹⁰ It has been noted that not all of these buildings were lavish, since the new nobles were aware of the limits imposed on one's self-celebration. Ibid., p. 182.

¹¹ See Brian Pullan, 'Service to the Venetian State: Aspects of Myth and Reality in the Early 17th Century', *Studi secenteschi* 5 (1964), p. 110.

¹² Sabbadini (1995), p. 33.

then, that the new nobles, whether merchants or not, also saw an opportunity to immortalise their achievements in funerary monuments which were incorporated in church façades. This chapter analyses two case studies of these monuments and their impact in forging the image of the nobles who had empowered themselves by dealing with trade.

The first case study concerns the dynastic monument of the Fini family on the façade of San Moisè (Figs 84-87). The opulent decoration of this façade displays the status and richness achieved by the Fini, a Venetian-Cypriot family which was aggregated to the patriciate in 1649. Contrary to the traditional reading of this façade as a profane self-celebration of the Fini, I intend to demonstrate that the Fini perceived the monument as a “gift” bestowed on them by Venice in return for their services to the state.¹³ Supporting the interpretation of a gift as a recompense given to Venetian citizens who had distinguished themselves for their services, I will clarify the ideological impact of the Fini monument on Venice’s traditional imagery, with particular attention to two related points: the façade as an opportunity for the Fini family to extol its merits and affirm its devotion to the state; and the commemoration of the Fini on a sacred surface as an expression of the liberty which Venice had historically bestowed on its citizens. Besides focusing on the funerary monument as an instrument of social affirmation, I will also concentrate on the influence of the Pesaro monument and on ephemeral architecture as the architectural models which gave rise to the rhetorical potency of the Fini monument.

¹³ For this approach, see Raines’s interpretation of gifts as a reward given to the patricians in acknowledgement of their services to the state. See Raines (2006), pp. 675-86.

The notion of the representation of the self will also be explored in the second case study, which focuses on Longhena's monument to the merchant Bartolomeo Cargnoni on the façade of Santa Maria dei Derelitti (Fig. 93). In this monument, the commemoration of Cargnoni is antithetical to that of the Fini family. In life Cargnoni (d. 1662) was a benefactor, treasurer and governor of the hospital of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, also known as Ospedaletto, a hospice which cared for pilgrims, orphans, the poor and disabled. At his death in 1662, Cargnoni donated his patrimony to the Ospedaletto and left a donation to finance the completion of the high altar and for the execution of a new façade for the church of Santa Maria dei Derelitti adjacent to the hospital. The façade incorporates a bust of Cargnoni, which he had never requested in his will. It is indisputable that this façade is one of Longhena's most striking and enigmatic works. Utilising but at the same time overturning the architectural framework of the Pesaro monument, Longhena designed a façade where a minor order of grotesque herms supports a gigantic order with atlases and pilgrims-telamones. The paradoxical nature of this façade consists in its double significance both as a commemorative monument and as an "architectural extravaganza"; in its mixture of comic and grotesque architectural elements; and in the effects of shadow and light which are generated by its juxtaposition of contrasting architectural units. In this chapter I will investigate the seemingly aberrant nature of this façade on both architectural and rhetorical grounds. As will be demonstrated, the multifaceted nature of this façade becomes a visual counterpart to the concepts of antithesis and ambiguity which were being discussed and formulated

in contemporary literature and architectural theory. Through an analysis of the concepts of norms and licence as the regulatory principles of architecture, this case study elucidates the way in which this façade constitutes a reflection on architecture and its role in promoting a message of social reform. Finally, close scrutiny of the architectural sources of this façade will clarify its significance as a vehicle of a quasi-utopian message concerning the upward mobility of the lower classes, of which Cargnoni was a beneficiary.

1. The Fini Family in San Moisè: the Façade as a Gift

The façade of San Moisè is a monument to the promotion of the Fini. This Venetian-Cypriot family of lawyers and *luganegheri* (sausage sellers) initially gained considerable prestige in Cyprus thanks to their financial contribution to Venice's war against the Ottomans.¹⁴ Subsequently, in the aftermath of the Republic's surrender of Cyprus in 1571, the Fini moved to Venice where they began their social climbing.¹⁵ Vincenzo Fini (1606-60) undertook a career as a lawyer, whilst his brother Girolamo (1621-85) started working as a merchant. The Fini used money raised by trade and commerce to pay the 100,000 ducats necessary to be admitted to the nobility in 1649.¹⁶ In 1658 Vincenzo offered 100,000 ducats to purchase the title of Procurator of Saint Mark.¹⁷ Thereafter, Girolamo, who in 1662 had already purchased the Flangini Palace on the Grand Canal, had a son with Adriana

¹⁴ BCV, MS PD C 2803, *Alberi genealogici di tutte le Famiglie Venete Patrizie*, f. 208; Francesco Schröder, *Repertorio genealogico delle famiglie confermate nobili e dei titolati nobili esistenti nelle provincie venete*, vol. 1 (Venice: Alvisopoli, 1830), p. 327.

¹⁵ BMV, MS It. Cl. VII 2226 (9205), *Distinzioni segrete che coronano fra le Casate Nobili di Venezia*, f. 53r.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 53r.

¹⁷ BCV, MS Cicogna 1064, *Supplica del Nobil Homo Sier Vincenzo Fini per essere decorato della Dignità di Procuratore di S. Marco*, unnumbered folios.

Zanforinati, a woman from a non-noble family.¹⁸ Girolamo's son, Vincenzo (1662-1726), married the noblewoman Lucrezia Loredan and paid 50,000 ducats to obtain the title of Procurator of Saint Mark.¹⁹

San Moisè, a church founded in the eighth century, was completely refurbished in 1632.²⁰ The history of the Fini monument began in 1668 when Girolamo promised to leave 800 ducats to complete work on the foundations and to arrange for the Istrian stone cladding of the new façade, incorporating a dynastic monument to his family. In addition, Girolamo requested that he be buried in a sarcophagus to be accommodated inside the church at his own expense. Alessandro Tremignon (1635-1711) was recruited in around 1681 to design the façade, which was then executed between 1681 and 1684 in collaboration with a team of sculptors including Heinrich Mayring, Michael Fabris and Giovanni Comin.²¹

¹⁸ BCV, MS PD C 2803, f. 208.

¹⁹ Ibid., f. 208. In total, the Fini family spent 370,000 ducats purchasing the procuracy of Saint Mark and the Flangini Palace. It is noteworthy that even after spending this exorbitant amount, the Fini could still finance the erection of their dynastic monument. This demonstrates the extent to which the Fini took advantage of their own wealth to promote themselves. For further investigation into this topic, see Sections 2 and 3 in this chapter, esp. pp. 186-90. For a biography of the Fini family, see also Sabbadini (1995), pp. 109-11. For the sale of offices, including that of the Procurator of Saint Mark, see *ibid.*, pp. 131-32.

²⁰ For a history of the church of San Moisè, see Nina Gockerell, *Kirchen mit alttestamentarischen Patrozinien in Venedig. Materialien zur Geschichte und Ikonographie der Kirchen S. Giobbe, S. Geremia, S. Moisè, S. Samuele, S. Simeone und S. Zaccaria* (Venice: Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani, 1978), pp. 445-57, and Ennio Concina, *Le chiese di Venezia. L'arte e la storia* (Udine: Magnus, 1995, hereafter referred to as Concina, 1995b), p. 354.

²¹ Gaier (2002), pp. 328-29. The sculptural decoration of the façade has long been ascribed to the German sculptor Heinrich Meyring (1628-1723), although recent studies on seventeenth-century Venetian sculpture carried out by Simone Guerriero suggested the involvement of various sculptors, most notably Bernardo Falconi and Giovanni Comin. See Simone Guerriero, 'Per un repertorio della scultura veneta del Sei e Settecento. I', *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 33 (2009), p. 206. For the Fini monument, see Bassi (1962), pp. 233-34; Gallego (1968), pp. 590-91; Raffaella Calvi and Maria Claudia Peretti, 'Sul restauro ottocentesco della chiesa di San Moisè a Venezia', *Bollettino d'arte* 25 (1984), pp. 123-30; Frank (1986), pp. 111-12; Sabbadini (1995), pp. 152-53; Breuing (1997), pp. 79-81 and 98-112; Ennio Concina, *A History of Venetian Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, first published 1995), pp. 257-60; Gaier (2002), pp. 322-34 and 533-40; Paola Rossi, 'Enrico Merengo: l'attività veneziana', *Arte Veneta* 63 (2006), pp. 27-47; Roca de Amicis (2008), p. 269.

The façade of San Moisè is divided into three superimposed orders (Fig. 84). Four fluted and banded composite columns on high pedestals divide the lowest order into three parts, incorporating three monuments with busts of the Fini. On the lower left, the portal (Fig. 85) displays Ionic capitals and a pediment surmounted by a putto and recumbent male figures which correspond to Cesare Ripa's description of the personifications of *Ingenuity* and *Consilium*.²² Above, a cornice separates the portal from a memorial plaque²³ supporting the portrait bust of Girolamo (d. 1685), which is flanked by two putti. The same structure is repeated on the lower right (Fig. 86), which displays the portrait bust of Vincenzo (d. 1726).²⁴ At the centre of the lowest order (Fig. 87), two fluted Corinthian columns frame an Ionic portal. On the arch of this portal, a keystone putto is flanked by two female recumbent figures in the spandrels, probably the personifications of *Earth* on the left, and *Air* on the right.²⁵

The trabeation above the portal bears the monument of Vincenzo (d. 1660), whose

²² As noted by Gaier (2002), p. 331. A probable source of inspiration for the reclining male figures on gables can be found in the personifications of *Night and Day* and *Dusk and Dawn* in Michelangelo's tombs of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici in the Medici Chapel in San Lorenzo, Florence. Although there is no proof that either Tremignon nor Meyring were ever in Florence, these statues provide a significant precedent for the reclining male figures which are shown in the Fini monument in terms of their poses.

²³ A Latin inscription on the memorial plaque reads 'DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO | HIERONYMUS FINI | VINCENTII DIVI MARCI PROCURATORIS FRATER | OBIIT MDCLXXXV | AETATIS LXIV'. Gaier noted that the memorial plaque is flanked by round blocks of stone which recall a Baroque sarcophagus. Similar features also appear on the monuments to the Soranzo family on the façade of Santa Giustina, although in this façade the sarcophagi are placed above the memorial plaques. See Gaier (2002), p. 324. It can be argued that Girolamo could have seen a similar detail on the Barbaro monument on the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio, which was completed in 1681. This is not surprising because Girolamo was *procuratore* in Santa Maria del Giglio, as Gaier has observed. See *ibid.*, p. 327, note 310.

²⁴ The Latin inscription below Vincenzo's bust reads as follows: 'DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO VINCENTIUS FINI DIVI MARCI PROCURATOR | HIERONYMI FILIUS VINCENTII PROCURATORIS NEPOS | OBIIT ANNO MDCCXXVI | AETATIS LXIII'.

²⁵ Breuing (1997), p. 107. As Breuing explains, *Earth* and *Air* are the personifications of the elements in which the glory of the Fini is metaphorically propagated. Paola Rossi interprets these figures as the personifications of *Glory* and *Virtue*, although her iconographical reading could be challenged by a more critical visual analysis. See Rossi (2006), p. 31.

bust is placed at the top of a truncated obelisk supported by sculptures of chimeric animals which are half dragon and half camel.²⁶ On the torso, the animals carry two male figures which are generally interpreted as *Merit* on the left, and *Honour* on the right.²⁷ These are flanked by two other personifications representing *Virtue* and *Honesty*.²⁸ Overall, the architectural framework of the lowest order is a triumphal arch form recalling other façades incorporating funerary monuments, such as Santa Giustina (Fig. 82), Santa Maria Formosa (Fig. 83) and, as we shall see later in this chapter, Santa Maria dei Derelitti (Fig. 93). This is of particular interest as it indicates how, by 1681, monumental façades devised by Longhena could serve as a model, and the extent to which Longhena's architectural language was a source of inspiration for Tremignon.²⁹

In the second order, four brackets with grotesque masks support the four

²⁶ The body of the animals might also represent lions, which are mentioned by Cesare Ripa as attributes of Force and Virtue. See Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, critical edition, ed. Sonia Maffei (Turin: Einaudi, 2012), pp. 217 and 596-97. A Latin inscription on the obelisks reads 'DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO | OMNE FASTIGIUM | VIRTUTE IMPLET | VINCENTIUS | FINI; | VENETAE NOBILITATIS | HONORE, | AC PROCURATORIA | D[IVI] MARCI DIGNITATE | AMPLISSIMUS. | TANTO FRATRI | CONSILIO, ELOQUENTIA | BENEFICENTIA, | DE CUNCTIS OPTIME | MERITO ! HIERONYMI FRATRIS | PIETAS | PERENNE | HOC MONUMENTUM POSUIT. | ANNO MDCLXXXIII ! OBIIT ANNO MDCLX | AETATIS LV'.

²⁷ Silvia Wolf, 'Nuovi contributi su Heinrich Meyring', *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 24 (2000), p. 131. This interpretation appears more convincing than reading the statue on the left as the personification of *Consilium*, as suggested by Puppi and Rugolo (1997), p. 640, and Gaier (2002), p. 331, because *Consilium* already appears in the monument with different features and attributes. The personification of *Honor*, the half-naked figure holding a cornucopia in one hand, derives from the analogous description in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, as Gaier also observes. See Gaier (2002), p. 331.

²⁸ Gaier (2002), p. 331. Gaier's interpretation relies on Ripa's description of the same figures. Paola Rossi identifies the statues with the personification of *Virtue* on the left, and *Modesty* on the right. See Rossi (2006), p. 34.

²⁹ Longhena and Tremignon had already collaborated on the cathedral in Chioggia in 1670, although it cannot be excluded that had already been contact in Venice. See Martin Gaier, 'La fortuna di Palladio a Venezia fra Sei e Settecento: le facciate delle chiese', in *Architettura delle facciate: le chiese di Palladio a Venezia. Nuovi rilievi, storia, materiali*, ed. Malvina Borgherini et al. (Venice: Marsilio, 2010), p. 73 and p. 81, note 57, and Hopkins (2012), p. 270.

cardinal virtues.³⁰ In the lateral wings are two tables mirroring those which are displayed in the lower register behind the portrait busts of Girolamo and Vincenzo. At the centre, a thermal window supports two recumbent sibyls in the spandrels above. On the keystone, a putto sustains a pedestal with a winged fame which is holding a trumpet in one hand while pointing to the coat of arms of the Fini family at the centre of the pediment. In the third order, two herms sustaining the pediment are flanked by two part pediments on the outer wings with floral decorations. Above the pediment and the par-pediments are five male figures representing the *Old Testament Fathers*, with Moses at the centre.³¹

The most striking characteristics of San Moisè are the vertical elevation and the opulence resulting from the super-abundance of sculptural decorations. We have already seen that the vertical elevation was a main feature of Venetian wall tomb monuments (*depositi*) and of monuments incorporated into a church façade.³² Another important precedent of this tradition was the Pesaro monument (Fig. 35): it visually represented the idea of (ducal) nobility through the elevation, both physical and metaphorical, of the doge's sarcophagus and seat supported by barbaric telamones. Moreover, an important feature of the Pesaro monument was the classical concept of *pondus* (weightiness or burden), to be understood as both the physical

³⁰ Cf. Gaier (2002), p. 331. Paola Rossi observes that the iconography of these statues is unclear and proposes an interpretation of the two statues on the right of the thermal window as the personifications of *Meekness* or *Moderation* and *Fortitudo*. See Rossi (2006), p. 45, note 46.

³¹ According to Breuing, the figures on the left are Abraham with his son Isaac and Jacob; on the right, two prophets. See Breuing (1997), p. 111.

³² Frank had already noted that the so-called commemorative façades have a precedent in the Venetian tradition of the wall tomb monuments. See Frank (1986), pp. 114 and 123-24. See also Gaier (2002), pp. 56-67.

weight of the Corinthian entablature sustained by the Moors and the symbolic weight of the nobility. Similarly, in the façade of San Moisè the vertical elevation and the overemphasis on the massive decoration are the main features that evoke the social climbing of the Fini. A further emphasis on verticality is especially evident in the central section of the façade. Vincenzo was the ancestor of the Venetian branch of the Fini family, and receives, not accidentally, the most prominent position at the top of the truncated obelisk, a symbol of social elevation, on the torso of the dragon-like animals probably alluding to eternity (Fig. 87).³³ It has never been acknowledged that the animals sustaining the obelisk are reminiscent of the funerary monument to the French ambassador René de Voyer de Paulmy d'Argenson in San Giobbe (Fig. 88). Generally ascribed to Thomas Blanchet, Charles-Alphonse Du Fresnoy and Claude Perrault (although interventions by Longhena cannot be excluded) the monument displayed leopards sustaining a sarcophagus above which was a truncated pyramid with the funerary epitaph.³⁴ It is important to note that the two vertical mullions on the thermal window accentuate the upward thrust of the Fini memorial, thereby connecting Vincenzo's monument to the winged *Fame* and the coat of arms of the Fini family in the attic storey: a characteristic connection that we have already encountered both in the Pesaro monument (Fig. 35) and on the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio (Fig. 75).

³³ For the truncated obelisk, see *ibid.*, p. 332. It can be argued that the truncated obelisk is also reminiscent of a pyramid, which according to Ripa symbolises the glory of the princes. See Ripa (2012), p. 233. Cristoforo Ivanovich mentioned the dragons as symbols of immortality in his description of the Pesaro monument. In addition, Ripa described the dragons as attributes of Eternity and Heroic Virtue. See Rossi (1990), p. 90, Gaier (2002), p. 332, and Ripa (2012), pp. 174 and 596.

³⁴ Frank (2004), pp. 261-63. An exhaustive description of the monument is provided by Giustiniano Martinioni in his additions to Sansovino's *Venetia*. See Sansovino (1663), pp. 156-59.

Other architectural sources influenced the structure and the iconography of the Fini monument. These include the façade of San Salvador (for its architectural framework) and the monument to Girolamo Cavazza in the Madonna dell'Orto (for its truncated obelisk flanked by allegorical figures).³⁵ A further architectural source is provided by ephemeral architecture, in particular the analogy between San Moisè and temporary triumphal arches which were used during processions or other official ceremonies. Ephemeral triumphal arches were known through the circulation of engravings, and it cannot be ruled out that Tremignon could have been inspired by this tradition. Some of these triumphal arches imitated the architectural framework of a church façade and were executed on the occasion of important religious festivities (Figs 89-90).³⁶ Moreover, the imposing decoration of San Moisè occupies the entire surface of the façade, thereby recalling the very articulated framework of temporary structures generally known as *castra doloris* covering the façade of churches.³⁷ Yet, despite the fact that *castra doloris* probably inspired the sumptuous decoration of the Fini monument, the message of the façade was quite different. In fact, not only it commemorated the deceased; it actually perpetuated the triumph of the Fini in the past, present and future, as shown by its allegorical personifications and by the busts of the deceased.³⁸

Another factor which makes San Moisè unique is the relatively simple

³⁵ Their influence on the Fini monument has widely been addressed by Gaier (2002), pp. 332-33.

³⁶ See Herta Haselberger-Blaha, 'Die Triumphtore Fischers von Erlach', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 17 (1956), pp. 63-85.

³⁷ On the *castra doloris*, see Liselotte Popelka, *Castrum doloris, oder, Trauriger Schauplatz: Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Wesen ephemerer Architektur* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994). Cf. also Gaier (2002), p. 347.

³⁸ See Breuing (1997), p. 105, and Gaier (2002), p. 330.

architectural framework which seems to be reduced into a neutral surface for the exhibition of sculptures.³⁹ The structure of the façade was derived from triumphal arches, a typology which was particularly recommended because of its versatility.⁴⁰ With just a few alterations, triumphal arches were in fact adaptable to different kinds of works or buildings, from illustrated frontispieces to funerary monuments.⁴¹ Moreover, it has already been noted that from the late fifteenth century onwards modes of expression of epideictic literature were also echoed in ephemeral architecture, and in particular in triumphal arches.⁴² From this perspective, it would not be wrong to construe the Fini monument as an illustrated frontispiece transposed into architecture: as in the title page of a collection of eulogies, the fame and the coat of arms of the Fini family are recorded for posterity in a durable image.

As regards the sculptural decorations of San Moisè, the Fini opted for an iconographical programme centred on the cardinal virtues and on allegorical personifications. These personifications reflect the range of those virtues which were the prerogative of the nobility, and in particular of the dogate. Once again, the Pesaro monument set the precedent by exhibiting the range of intellectual qualities ascribed to the doge, alongside the personifications of material qualities generally regarded as being exclusive to the patriciate. Accordingly, in San Moisè the

³⁹ As we shall see, a similar characteristic is partially reminiscent of Mannerist architecture and also recurs in the façade of Santa Maria dei Derelitti. For a comparison between this tradition and San Moisè, see Roberto Pane, 'Galeazzo Alessi e il concetto di manierismo', in *Galeazzo Alessi e l'architettura del cinquecento: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Genova, 16-20 Aprile 1974* (Genoa: Sagep, 1975), pp. 42-43.

⁴⁰ See for example Sebastiano Serlio's remarks on triumphal arches as cited by Rossi (1995), pp. 127-28.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid., p. 127.

recumbent personifications of *Ingenuity* and *Consilium* on the pediments above the left portal (Fig. 85) are reminiscent of the statues representing *Ingenuity* (Fig. 60) and *Study* (Fig. 39) above the Doric entablature in the Pesaro monument. Moreover, the personification of *Consilium*, which depicts a man with a book, can be associated with the knowledge necessary when dealing with issues of statecraft and also recalls the statue of *Wisdom* on the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio (Fig. 78). In San Moisè, *Honour* is also exhibited at the centre of the façade, on the right of the truncated obelisk sustaining the bust of Vincenzo (Fig. 87). The derivation of this group from the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio (Fig. 75) and from the Cavazza monument suggests that by 1684 this personification was part of the image which the new nobles aspired to for themselves.⁴³ Furthermore, *Virtue* and *Honour* visually represented both a sense of civic ethos emerging from a military victory and aristocratic pride conferring distinction on a noble family, as shown by the same allegories sculpted in the Loggia del Capitaniato in Vicenza or on the façade of Palazzo Turchi in Verona.⁴⁴

2. The Fini Monument and the Republican Ethos

The iconographical programme of San Moisè is an emblem of the aristocratic status which the Fini achieved through their ennoblement. The personifications of allegories in particular identify a series of supreme values delineating the image of the

⁴³ See Gaier (2002), pp. 331-32. For Santa Maria del Giglio and the Cavazza monument, see above Chapter Three, Section 5, esp. p. 150.

⁴⁴ For the Loggia del Capitanato, see Lionello Puppi, *Andrea Palladio* vol. 2 (Milan: Electa, 1973), pp. 376-79; for Palazzo Turchi, see Bertilla Bertin, 'Il palazzo Turchi a Verona. Un esempio di polimorfismo decorativo nell'architettura del Cinquecento tra Veneto e Lombardia', *Arte lombarda* 102-103: 3-4 (1992), p. 35.

nobility. We have already seen that honour, virtue and wisdom were the foundations of the Venetian civic ethos, and for this reason were adopted as paradigms for the image which the patriciate wished to convey of itself.⁴⁵ Ennoblement provided the Fini with the opportunity to accord their status with the ideals of civic responsibility which were specific to the patriciate and to offer a visual representation of the self: the civic ethos and self-representation were therefore interrelated, and they delineated the patrician identity of the aggregated families.⁴⁶

The message carried by the Fini monument is powerful because its iconography incorporates the ideals of virtue which the patriciate itself regarded as honourable. As Paolo Paruta explained as early as the sixteenth century, virtues were reckoned as such only if credited with honour by the other members of the same community.⁴⁷ Discussing the ways in which the life of a virtuous man could be esteemed honourable, Paruta observed that virtues would degenerate into vices if their purpose was only the fulfilment of the self.⁴⁸ This particularly applies to qualities resulting from exterior goods such as richness or magnificence. Relying on Aristotle's ethics, the patricians knew that achievements resulting from material values must not be strived for on the basis of ambition, but rather on account of the desire to serve the state.⁴⁹ Paruta took the issue even further: virtue and honour are inseparable and work together in shaping the "true" nobility:

⁴⁵ See Chapter One, Section 1.

⁴⁶ Sabbadini (1995), p. 163.

⁴⁷ Paruta (1579), pp. 237, 247, quoted by Sabbadini (1995), p. 161.

⁴⁸ Paruta (1579), pp. 236-38.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 237-38; *Applausi de gli Accademici Ricovrati all'Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signor Silvestro Valiero, Cavaliere et Procuratore di S. Marco, Protettore dell'Accademia* (Padova: Pietro Maria Frambotto, 1680), pp. 21-22; Raines (2006), p. 347.

[...] I believe that virtue demands honour, which, as I have demonstrated, is both a symbol and a reward of virtue. Only those who have been virtuous achieve honour (which is almost an emblem of their virtue) and will be admired as nobles by future generations, so that their virtuous actions can be famed. [...] We shall therefore deduce that virtue generates nobility in conjunction with honour.⁵⁰

Paruta is strict in his definition of nobility: it results from virtues only insofar as these satisfy the interest of the community, thereby contributing to the state's preservation.⁵¹ It is opportune to observe that in Paruta's works the notion of state is generally analysed from the context of a situation of conflict. It is especially during military confrontation with enemies that the virtues of the Venetian citizens are proven and acknowledged as advantageous to the Republic.⁵² Accordingly, the Fini gained considerable reputation when they financially sustained Venice's war against the Turks in Cyprus.⁵³ Although the Fini did not die on the battlefield, their financial

⁵⁰ Paruta (1579), p. 247: '[...] però credo, che presso la virtù vi si richieda l'honore; il quale, come dimostrato fu, è segno, et insieme premio della virtù. Quelli adunque potranno essere ne' posteri autori di vera nobiltà; che essendo virtuosi ne hanno conseguito alcun honore, quasi carattere della sua virtù: onde, cessando l'operatione virtuosa, ella possa essere dal mondo conosciuta. [...] Si può quindi concludere, che la virtù congiunta con l'honore partorisca la nobiltà'. See also *ibid.*, p. 249: '[...] la nobiltà [...] non è prodotta da qual si sia virtù; ma solo da quella, che già è confermata con alcun testimonio de gli huomini, cioè con l'honore'. A similar notion of nobility is described by Antonino Colluraffi, *Il nobile Veneto* (Venetia: Andrea Muschio, 1623), pp. 78-79. On Colluraffi, a Sicilian author active in Venice and master of the *principe* of the *Incogniti* Gianfrancesco Loredan, see Raines (2006), pp. 424-25.

⁵¹ Paruta (1579), pp. 247 and 250: 'Dico appresso, che quelle virtù partorir ponno maggior nobiltà, non s'hanno a considerare co'l rispetto della loro perfettione; ma solo del beneficio, che elle recar sogliono alla vita civile, in cui è nato, et allevato questo nome di nobiltà'. '[Nobility] non ha mira a ciò, che semplicemente è bene; ma solo a quello, che reca maggior beneficio alle città'.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 248. The same is pointed out by Gasparo Contarini, *Della repubblica et magistrati di Venetia libri V* (Venetia: Aldo, 1591), p. 8, and Colluraffi (1623), pp. 58 and 61. See also Raines (2006), pp. 346-47.

⁵³ BCV, MS Cicogna 1064, unnumbered folios: '[...] nell'aggressione di quel Regno mostrò una generosissima fede verso la Serenissima Repubblica, avendo con milizie a piedi, e a cavallo, condotte a proprie spese, sostenuto gran parte della difesa fin agli ultimi periodi di Nicossia'; BCV, MS PD. F.

contribution to Venice demonstrated their loyalty to the state. As in the monument to Antonio Barbaro on the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio, the principle upon which the celebration of the Fini operates is that of aggrandisement. Both Barbaro and the Fini belonged to two generations of patrician families which perfectly understood how Venetian republican ideology could be exploited to increase their status. Nonetheless, counter to Santa Maria del Giglio, the façade of San Moisè not only displays the Fini's aggrandisement, but flaunts it.

The Fini monument can be conceived as a reward for the Fini's republican merits. As a matter of fact, admission to the patriciate did not equate to ennoblement.⁵⁴ Being a noble implied adopting a noble lifestyle, a condition the Fini only reached by taking considerable pains. The allegorical personifications which embellish the Fini monument denote the long-standing Venetian debate on the virtues of the patriciate. For the most conservative patricians, the aggregated families could never acquire the innate virtues of the patriciate. The Fini monument, however, proves the contrary, although the Fini had to pay for their ennoblement both financially and morally by expressing their devotion to the state.

The point is made clearer in the plea (*supplica*) Vincenzo addressed to Doge Giovanni Pesaro in 1658 to obtain the title of Procurator of Saint Mark:

[...] a citizen whose veins are bled dry in the service of the Republic fulfils his duties with his life. The sacrifice of wealth does not end in this way: it burns continuously nor is it ever extinguished, on the contrary, in burning it

2803, p. 208; Schröder (1830), p. 327.

⁵⁴ Raines (2006), p. 668.

regenerates itself with the flames of its desire of relentlessly contributing to public profit.

I, Vincenzo Fini, although I have never been lucky or able to take up arms and spill my blood for the sake of my country, have nevertheless endeavoured to produce with the sweat of my brow a wealth of fortune so that, turned into gold and offered in its entirety to this great majesty, it adorns my requests with its merits. [I do this] certain of my unmatched devotion and I offer it as a fruitful contribution to supporting the Republic's needs.⁵⁵

Essentially, Vincenzo's claim to having served the state was at the core of the Venetian notion of civic ethos. It has been noted that pleas mirrored the values the patriciate regarded as fundamental. The self-representation of the ennobled families therefore reflected that of the patriciate and incorporated the principles which the patricians considered essential to defining their own status.⁵⁶ It is no surprise, then, that in Vincenzo's plea the greatest emphasis is laid on the concept of sacrifice. If a Venetian citizen renounced some of his belongings to express his or her loyalty to the state, the Republic was obliged to reciprocate with some of its privileges: the privation of material goods was therefore compensated with a non-material gift.⁵⁷ Primary sources are quite specific in this regard, and Vincenzo's service to the state

⁵⁵ BCV, MS Cicogna 1064, unnumbered folios: '[...] un Cittadino, un Suddito svenato a morte nel servizio della Patria reumina colla vita il frutto degl'impieghi: Il sacrificio degli averi non così finisce; arde sempre; né s'estingue mai, anzi ardendo si rinnova con le fiamme del desiderio nel confluire di continuo a pubblico profitto. Io Vincenzo Fini, se non ho avuta fortuna, e condizione di spargere fra l'armi il sangue mio, ho ambito almeno, che la mia fronte ne distilli sempre in copia d'incessanti sudori, perché convertito in oro, e contribuito tutto a questa gran Maestà, si freggi di supplicato merito, e come persona certa d'impareggiabile divozione, e come tributo fruttuoso nel sollevo delle pubbliche occorrenze'.

⁵⁶ Sabbadini (1995), p. 49.

⁵⁷ Raines (2006), p. 681.

ennobled his actions to such an extent that they deserved a handsome reward.⁵⁸

Ennoblement as a recompense to the service to the state is a key element in helping us to understand the rhetorical context for the Fini monument. Turning our attention to the primary sources describing the ennoblement of the Fini family, their aggregation to the patriciate was often conceived both as a result of the Fini's devotion to the state, and as a consequence of the ideals of magnificence and liberality traditionally fed by the patriciate.⁵⁹ As we shall see presently, the state considered itself to be magnanimous and generous towards its subjects and often had a propensity for sparing (*graziare*) its subjects.⁶⁰ Obviously, we saw that ennoblement had to be deserved through the exercise of virtues, and it is for this reason that the Fini so obsessively reiterated their services to the state. Although it is true that the Fini exploited republican ideology, they did so because they were indirectly encouraged to do so by the patriciate. In fact, the patriciate admitted that since the closure of the Great Council in 1297, Venice had been in the habit of ennobling some of its citizens as a reward for their services to the Republic.⁶¹ It is true that in

⁵⁸ BMV, MS It. Cl. VII 2226 (9205), f. 53r: '[Vincenzo] con fatiche indicibili, e senza risparmio di se stesso [...] fece presto ricchezze considerabili, con le quali acquistò la Nobiltà'; *Applausi epitalamici nelle nozze solenni degl'Illustrissimi et Eccellentissimi Signori Filippo et Adriana Fini* (Venetia: Francesco Valvanense, 1701), p. 26: 'VINCENZO, e GEROLAMO colle copiose offerte fatte al'Erario continuando alla Republica il sacrificio de' suoi maggiori, meritano l'Ascrizione'.

⁵⁹ BCV, MS Cicogna 1064, unnumbered folios: '[Vincenzo] ha continuato lo stesso zelo al pubblico servizio, e meritò li predetti Onori [the procuratorship of Saint Mark and the ennoblement]; *Applausi epitalamici* (1701), p. 26; Schröder (1830), p. 327: 'La famiglia Fini [...] si stabilì in Venezia e continuò a somministrare considerevoli somme ai bisogni dello Stato, talchè in compenso a queste benemerenzze fu nel 1649 aggregata con tutti li suoi discepoli al Patriziato veneto'.

⁶⁰ Raines (2006), pp. 681-86, esp. p. 683.

⁶¹ Contarini (1591), p. 15; BMV, MS It. Cl. VII 2226 (9205), f. 30r-v: ' [...] anco doppo lo stabilimento della Repubblica, e doppo, che in Terra, et in Mare godeva già il Possessi di molti Paesi fu costume dell'Antichità esser graziosa della sua Nobiltà a molte persone meritevoli, e non usavasi all'ora [sic!] tanta avarizia di questo dono, perché tutti i sudditi di Terra-Ferma se riuscivano benemeriti, riuscivano ancora Nobili di Venezia, et anco oltre ai Generali diversi altri Personaggi militari per serviggio prestato alla Republica, conseguivano in retribuzione la Nobiltà Veneziana'. See

1649 the situation was very different, because the Fini family was not only admitted to the nobility, but also sought to be rewarded both socially and politically. Nonetheless, as primary sources confirm, the nature of their service to the state was a sufficient condition to guarantee the Fini's loyalty to the Republic and their consequent social climbing.⁶²

It is also important to clarify that there is no evidence of any obstacle or opposition to the Fini's intention to erect a monument of dynastic self-celebration. First and foremost, among the members of the chapter of San Moisè, there was complete unanimity on Girolamo's request to commission the work (24 April 1668).⁶³ The fact that Girolamo was a member of the chapter and both Procurator and President (*presidente*) of San Moisè gives evidence of the power which had been attained by the Fini family. Secondly, when the Surveyors of Works (*Procuratori sopra la Fabbrica*) of San Moisè ratified the concession which the chapter had given to Girolamo on 9 May 1668, the conciliatory words of the notary seem to safeguard Girolamo's concession against any potential accusation of excessive self-celebration.⁶⁴ The notary in fact underlined '[...] the very religious zeal of Girolamo Fini in concurring in the reconstruction of the parish and collegiate church of San Moisè of Venice, so much enlightened by the Holy Spirit and so much inspired by his intense desire to serve the cult of God, to which he is aspiring'.⁶⁵ The

also Raines (2006), p. 634.

⁶² BCV, MS Cicogna 1064, unnumbered folios; Schröder (1830), p. 327; Raines (2006), pp. 661, 675-77 and 686.

⁶³ BCV, MS Cicogna 3236, *Chiese di Venezia e isole*, f. 3r-v, quoted by Gaier (2002), pp. 536-37.

⁶⁴ ASV, *Notarile, Atti*, b. 5058, ff. 35r-38r, quoted by Gaier (2002), pp. 537-39.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 537: '[...] il zelo religiosissimo, et christiano del N. H. Gerolemo Fini, nel concorrer nella fabrica della Parochial et Collegiata Chiesa di S. Moisè di questa Città, cos' ispirato dal Spirito Santo,

only element which might hint at an opposition to Girolamo's apparently pious request is an allusion to an event which occurred on an unspecified date before 9 May. The notary in fact recalled that Girolamo 'intends that all the past things regarding this matter belong to the past [...]'.⁶⁶ At the present stage there is not enough evidence to establish what might have interfered with the execution of the façade between Girolamo's request (19 April) and the procurators' ratification (9 May 1668). Nevertheless, regardless of the issue, the ratification issued to Girolamo undoubtedly confirms the trust vested in Girolamo in his role of benefactor. Finally, it is worth noticing that the subdeacon of San Moisè was Andrea Tremignon, the brother of the architect Alessandro. On 19 April 1668 Girolamo's request was passed to Andrea, and it cannot be ruled out that he may have facilitated the acceptance of Girolamo's will and the consequent involvement of Alessandro.⁶⁷ Under these circumstances, there is no proof that the documentation concerning the commission of the Fini monument accused Girolamo of exclusively celebrating himself and his family through the erection of a dynastic monument. Although it would be illogical to pretend that Girolamo's intent was not self-celebratory, he successfully manoeuvred the chapter and the procurators of San Moisè so that they would aid him in the fulfilment of his plans.

3. Liberty, Liberality and Magnificence

The magnificence of the Fini monument mirrors the majesty of Venice as a republic

e dall'incessante suo desiderio, che altro non aspira, che il coadiuvare al culto di Dio'.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 537: '[Girolamo] vuole, che tutte le cose per il passato sopra questo affare sono di già passate, e seguite [...]']'.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 536-37.

willing to bestow goods, riches and privileges on its citizens. On the one hand, the sumptuous decoration of the Fini monument reflects a princely ideal which was traditionally exclusive to the patriciate, but was also extended to the aggregated families in the seventeenth century.⁶⁸ On the other, we have seen that the Fini boasted about their financial sacrifices because they were aware that the patriciate would acknowledge the ethical and moral impact of their service, thereby bestowing honours and wealth on them.

Liberality, magnanimity and magnificence were the attributes which traditionally defined the greatness of the Venetian patriciate.⁶⁹ Through the study of Aristotle, who was the first to investigate these virtues within the purview of morality and material goods, patricians understood that part of their splendour was the result of their distribution of wealth to the advantage of the common good.⁷⁰ In conjunction with liberality, magnanimity and magnificence consisted in the prudent consumption and distribution of wealth.⁷¹ By keeping the right balance between material goods and a virtuous temperament, patricians developed an ideology resulting in the notion of Venice's splendour.⁷² As the scholar of the Republic Giason De Nores explained, liberality, magnificence and magnanimity cannot be separated from one another. The unity which keeps them together is a symbol of the concurrence of qualities

⁶⁸ Cozzi (1986), pp. 139 and 151-53.

⁶⁹ See Raines (2006), p. 683. For the theoretical background, see Guido Guerzoni, '*Liberalitas, Magnificentia*, Splendor: The Classic Origins of Italian Renaissance Lifestyles', in *Economic Engagements with Art*, eds Neil De Marchi and Craufurd Goodwin (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), pp. 332-78.

⁷⁰ Iason De Nores, *Breve institutione dell'ottima repubblica* (Venetia: Paolo Megietti, 1578), pp. 8v-9r and 16r-v. For the theoretical background, see Guerzoni (1999), pp. 341-61.

⁷¹ Guerzoni (1999), pp. 341-44.

⁷² De Nores (1578), p. 16r-v.

culminating in the sumptuousness of Venice as a city ruled by principles inspired by supreme values.⁷³

Just as liberality, magnificence and magnanimity are joined as a whole, their unity also cannot be separated from the notion of liberty. The qualities which determined the grandeur of the patriciate merged with an ideal of freedom as a prerogative of the Venetian citizen, regardless of one's own social status. As Francesco Sansovino observed, Venice was the cradle of freedom because '[...] no Venetian citizen [was] ever born or dead without being free [...].'⁷⁴ In the High Renaissance, the awareness of the notion of liberty grew among the scholars of the Republic: defining itself as the heir to the Roman republic, Venice surpassed Rome in liberty to an extent that freedom became the archetypical characteristic which had distinguished Venice, since its origins, from any other republic.⁷⁵ By the seventeenth century, the idealised liberty of Venice had percolated into a larger segment of Venetian society. Inspired by the republican ethos, Venetian citizens represented themselves as members of a social stratification composed of free people.⁷⁶

⁷³ Ibid., p. 46r: 'Non può mancar la clementia, la mansuetudine, la liberalità dove è la prudenza, la fortezza, la virtù heroica, la grandezza dell'animo, la magnificenza; non può desiderarsi la temperantia, la fede, la santità, dove regna la religione, et la giustitia'.

⁷⁴ Sansovino (1663), p. 4, quoted by Favilla and Rugolo (2005), pp. 51-52: '[...] Non nacque mai, ne morì in Venetia alcun cittadino, che non nascesse, e morisse libero. [...] perciocchè in nessun'altro lato dell'universo, lo huomo è assoluto signor di se medesimo, de beni della fortuna et dello honore, più che in questo'.

⁷⁵ Giovanni Maria Memmo, *Dialogo del Magnifico cavaliere Giovanni Maria Memmo, nel quale dopo alcune filosofiche dispute, si forma un perfetto Principe, et una perfetta Republica, e parimente un Senatore, un Cittadino, un Soldato, un Mercatante, diviso in tre libri* (Vinegia: Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari, 1563), *passim*, esp. p. 129: 'Senza dubbio la Città et Republica nostra si conserverà, et viverà libera fino a tanto, che le santissimi leggi, i buoni ordini, et gli ottimi costumi seranno osservati'; De Nores (1578), p. 46r: 'Affermeremo dunque, et affermeremo con verità questa sola Republica essere nata libera et Christiana, essere stata et ordinata, et fondata, et fabricata, et esalata, et mantenuta dalla Divina providentia sempre libera et Christiana'; Sansovino (1663), p. 4.

⁷⁶ See Favilla and Rugolo (2005), p. 57.

Liberality, magnificence and magnanimity were visually represented as part of Venice's traditional imagery. A set of paintings by Paolo Veronese in the Doge's Palace provides the most cogent visual representation of these notions. In a painting in the *Sala delle Udienze* (Fig. 91), a female figure generally interpreted as a personification of Juno is showering goods and riches on the personification of Venice, which is sitting on a terrestrial globe and is accompanied by the lion of Saint Mark. The goods and riches that Juno is extracting from a golden bowl are material symbols of Venice's majestic prerogatives. Among them are a crown, golden coins, a *corno ducale* and a laurel wreath. The relationship between donor and recipient is inverted in a fresco which Veronese depicted on the ceiling of the *Sala dell'Anticollegio* (Fig. 92). Here the view from below gives emphasis to the matron representing Venice as a donor at the top right, and to the recipients of the gifts at the bottom. The personification of Venice is flanked by two large cornucopias full to the brim with gifts, which are allusive to the Republic's liberties in terms of political and ecclesiastical administration.⁷⁷ In particular, the red cap near a bounded prisoner at the bottom right represents the *pileus*, the cap traditionally associated with the manumission of slaves and the emblem of liberty.⁷⁸

In conclusion, the celebration of the Fini family in San Moisè can be construed as a legitimate derivation from the Venetian myth and therefore responds to its ideological mechanics. As a matter of fact, the families aggregated to the patriciate

⁷⁷ For this interpretation, see Tagliaferro (2005), p. 79.

⁷⁸ For these paintings, see Wolters (1983), pp. 250 and 266-67, and Tagliaferro (2005), pp. 17-18 and 79. For the *pileus* as a symbol of liberty, see also De Nores (1578), p. 46v: '[...] solo il Ducato di Venetia essere libero et legitimo tra tutti gli altri; onde in luogo di Corona, è anco investito del Pileo antica, et chiara insegna di libertà'.

from 1646 onwards saw architectural patronage as a means of expressing their new social condition. As regards the commissions of funerary monuments, no doubt these increased as a result of the social ascent of aggregated families such as the Cavazza or the Fini. Firstly, the Fini imitated the image and the values of the patriciate. Then, once admitted to the nobility, the Fini satiated their craving for honour with a monument. Even though the most conservative patricians would have recognised the contrary, the aggregated families were the ultimate resource for a Republic which was struggling to cope with the Cretan war and with the impoverishment of the nobility.⁷⁹ Making a virtue out of a necessity, the patriciate unwillingly accepted the advantage of the aggregations.⁸⁰ Understood in this light, there is no reason why the Fini monument should be considered merely exaggeratedly self-celebratory: just as the Fini needed the patrician ideology to make their social climbing effective, so too the patriciate needed aggregated families like the Fini to keep its ideology alive.

4. *Concordia discors*: Baldassarre Longhena and the Ospedaletto Façade

The façade of the Ospedaletto (Figs 93-96) is a monument to the altruism of the merchant Bartolomeo Cagnoni and a metaphor of the social gratification resulting from the assisting of the poor and the sick. The façade is conspicuous for its anomalous structure: Longhena overturned the canonical rules of architecture both syntactically and semantically, and invented a façade which became a visual means to express an ideal of social rehabilitation. The paradoxical appearance of the façade

⁷⁹ Raines (2006), pp. 660, 665.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 674.

thus dovetails with its implicit message: an aggrandisement of the lowest social classes through a subversion of the architectural orders.

The Ospedaletto, a church which traces its origins back to the plague which devastated Venice between 1527 and 1528, undertook a major redevelopment in the seventeenth century. The history of the church can be split in two phases: one concerning the execution of the high altar, the rebuilding of the hospital complex and probably the plan for a façade incorporating a monument to Bartolomeo Cagnoni; and another commencing after Longhena's recruitment in 1667 and culminating with the execution of the façade between 1670 and 1674.⁸¹

To summarise the chronology of the reconstruction, in 1662 Cagnoni left 3,000 ducats for the completion of the high altar of the church, the execution of the church's façade and a comprehensive refurbishment of the entire hospital.⁸² It is likely that the first design for the façade included a bust of Cagnoni which was to be executed by Bernardo Falconi in 1664 and a funerary epitaph devised by Giuseppe Sardi, both of which are now inside the church (Fig. 97).⁸³ Observing the façade

⁸¹ For the Ospedaletto, see Elena Bassi, 'Gli architetti dell'Ospedaletto', *Arte veneta* 6 (1952), pp. 175-81; Bassi (1962), pp. 164-66; Gallego (1968), p. 587; *Arte e musica all'ospedaletto. Schede d'archivio sull'attività musicale degli ospedali dei Derelitti e dei Mendicanti di Venezia (sec. XVI-XVIII)* (Venice: Stamperia di Venezia Editrice, 1978); Biadene (1982), p. 121; Giuseppe Maria Pilo, *La chiesa dello 'Spedaletto' in Venezia* (Stamperia di Venezia-Istituto per l'Enciclopedia del Friuli Venezia Giulia, 1982); Frank (1986), pp. 112-13; Bernard Aikema and Dulcia Meijers, *Nel regno dei poveri* (Venice: Arsenale, 1989), pp. 158-62; Puppi and Rugolo (1997), pp. 641-42; Gaier (2002), pp. 315-22 and 530-32; Frank (2004), pp. 72-74 and 390-97; Andrew Hopkins, review of Martin Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*, in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 68: 2 (2005), p. 300; Silvia Lunardon and Giuseppe Ellero, *Guida all'Ospedaletto. Itinerario storico, artistico e musicale della chiesa e ospedale dei Derelitti* (Venice: IRE, 2005), p. 11; Laura Moretti, 'Andrea Palladio e la chiesa dell'Ospedaletto a Venezia', in *Palladio 1508-2008. Il simposio del cinquecentenario*, ed. Franco Barbieri et al. (Venice: Marsilio, 2008), pp. 300-04; id., *Dagli incurabili alla pietà. Le chiese degli ospedali grandi a Venezia tra architettura e musica* (Florence: Olschki, 2008), pp. 35-58 and 134-37; Roca de Amicis (2008), pp. 266-67; Hopkins (2012), p. 167.

⁸² Gaier (2002), pp. 531-32.

⁸³ Pilo (1982), pp. 149-50; Gaier (2002), pp. 317 and 531.

devised by Longhena, it is difficult to determine whether or not the bust of Cargnoni set against a shell and the Latin inscription below it (Fig. 95) create any continuity with the original design, which was presumably devised by Sardi in around 1664.⁸⁴ To be sure, Cargnoni did not instruct that a monument in his honour be incorporated into the façade. In fact, Cargnoni's will does not mention the bust as part of the church's renovation, as the sculpture was in fact commissioned by his executors, the governors of the Ospedaletto.⁸⁵ In 1666, a quarrel between Sardi and the governors of the church resulted in Sardi's dismissal and in Longhena's involvement in devising the façade.⁸⁶ Although there is archival evidence of the construction of the façade between 1670 and 1674, documents regarding the iconographical programme, which must certainly have existed, are still lacking.⁸⁷

The originality of the Ospedaletto façade lies in the contrast between its high degree of inventiveness – the architectural function of sculptural elements such as herms and telamones is a case in point – and the simplicity of the architectural framework. The façade presents two orders which are surmounted by an attic storey corresponding to the scale 3:2:1 (Figs 93, 98).⁸⁸ At the centre of the lower order, two fluted and engaged composite columns frame the portal and sustain a pediment, its tympanum accommodating the glazed terracotta of a *Pietà* with two angels.⁸⁹ On the

⁸⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 317.

⁸⁵ In support of Cargnoni's lack of interest in self-celebration, Gaier noted that in a codicil to his will (dated 12 August 1662) Cargnoni prioritises the refurbishment of the hospital, thereby leaving the execution of the façade to the governors of the church. See Gaier (2002), p. 532.

⁸⁶ The controversy has been exhaustively documented by Bassi (1952), pp. 175-78.

⁸⁷ For a summary of the relevant documents, see Gaier (2002), pp. 530-32.

⁸⁸ Frank (2004), p. 393.

⁸⁹ Frank argues that the terracotta was originally executed in the fifteenth century. Giuseppe Maria Pilo ascribes it to the circle of the Della Robbia. In absence of documentation, however, it is difficult

sides of the portal, four Ionic pilasters are clad with protruding herms displaying grotesque lion heads and garlands beneath them (Fig. 94a-d).⁹⁰ Above the entablature, four massive figures of telamones on pedestals frame the monument to Cargnoni at the centre and the arched windows on the sides.⁹¹ The memorial consists in a bust of the deceased which is embedded in a shell and set against a table (Fig. 95). The bust is placed on a pedestal which is supported by a cornice upheld by two statues flanking the Latin inscription with the funerary eulogy.⁹² The attic order only displays cartouches with an ostrich – the coat of arms of Cargnoni's haberdashery – and pilasters with the cardinal virtues above them. A three-quarter view of the façade evidences the tense interrelation between sculpture and architecture, giving the impression of an architectural bulk which is almost collapsing upon the observer (Fig. 93).

The architectural framework of the Ospedaletto façade is quite simple. The structure is that of a triumphal arch, a typology that Longhena had already used in many of his works from the principal façade of Santa Maria della Salute to San Basso (completed in 1678). As regards façades incorporating honorific monuments, notable

to determine the attribution and the provenance of the terracotta relief. See Pilo (1982), p. 31, and Frank (2004), pp. 73 and 394.

⁹⁰ The herms were executed by the sculptor Marco Beltrame. Frank observes that the garlands mirror those devised by Longhena in Santa Maria della Salute, specifically in the compartments between the Corinthian pillars and the aedicules in the second order of the principal façade. See Frank (2004), p. 74.

⁹¹ The telamones were sculpted by Giusto Le Court. See Gaier (2002), p. 530.

⁹² The Latin inscription reads 'DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO | BARTHOLOMEUS CARNIONUS | THESAURIZATURUS SIBI THESAUROS IN COELIS | ILLUC OPES NON NISI PER MANUS PAUPERUM DEPORTANDAS INTELLIGENS | XENODOCHIUM HOC PENE EX ASSE VOLVIT HAEREDEM | SIC | DOTE VIRGINIBUS ORFANIS GENITORES INFIRMIS VALETUDINARIO | HOSPITIUM SANIORI STRUCTURA TEMPLU, AUGUSTA FACIE PURIORI DEUM CULTU | SCRIPSIT DEDIT CONSULVIT INSTAURAVIT ORNAVIT ET AUXIT | VIATOR | FUNCTUS QUIA FUNGENS LAPIDESCIS | AGE ET TU | FLAMMAS CARPE CHARITATIS | UT REVIVISCAS | MDCLXXIV'.

precedents are those of Santa Giustina and Santa Maria Formosa (Figs 82-83). Scholars acknowledged that recourse to the triumphal arch form might have been derived from the architectural predilections of Girolamo Soranzo, one of the governors of the Ospedaletto and a member of the aristocratic Soranzo family who, in 1635, had commissioned Longhena to create a dynastic monument on the façade of Santa Giustina.⁹³ Another architectural model was the façade of San Salvador, which was devised by Antonio Sardi and, after his death, by his son Giuseppe (Fig. 99). As is the case with the Ospedaletto, the façade presents a triumphal arch form which is surmounted by an attic. Above the Corinthian portal, a pediment displays the bust of Jacopo Galli, a Venetian merchant who died in 1649.⁹⁴

In short, it is evident that the Ospedaletto façade displays architectural elements that by the 1670s had become part of the architectural vocabulary of dynastic monuments which were being incorporated into façades of churches. Yet, in spite of the simplicity of the architectural framework, a closer glance at the sculptural decoration and at the architectural use of sculptural elements tells a different story. Basically, the whole façade appears incongruous because the geometrical harmony of the triumphal arch form is disrupted by the subversion of the architectural orders. Although the façade appeals to the observer as a result of its originality, the viewer is at the same time puzzled by its apparent incongruousness. In an attempt to decipher the obscure significance of the façade, I will focus on its relation to the Pesaro

⁹³ Gaier (2002), pp. 317-18; Frank (2004), p. 73.

⁹⁴ The bust was executed by Bernardo Falconi in 1664. For San Salvador, see Gaier (2002), pp. 310-15 and 317.

monument and on Longhena's use of licence as a means of breaking architectural conventions and increasing artistic inventiveness.

5. The Ospedaletto and the Pesaro Monument: Dichotomies or Correspondences?

At first glance, the Ospedaletto façade and the Pesaro monument in the Frari are antithetical (Figs 35, 93).⁹⁵ At the Frari, the telamones enhance the aggrandisement of the doge, whereas in the Ospedaletto the pilgrim-telamones, placed as they are on the upper register, entail a subversion of the then architectural norms, which in turn may suggest a rehabilitation of the relevance of the lower classes. Moreover, in the Pesaro monument architecture perfectly interacts with sculpture and, as we have seen, Le Court had even been compared with a divine sculptor infusing life into the marble as a result of his artistry.⁹⁶ In contrast, at the Ospedaletto architectural normativity seems to have gone awry: architectural units do not correspond to their function, licence subverts norm and an aesthetic dissonance prevails.

As a commemorative monument, the Ospedaletto façade ought to have perpetuated Cargnoni's legacy through an act of commemoration which would have been visually centred on his bust and in the funerary epitaph below (Fig. 95). Instead, the monument to Cargnoni is enclosed within architectural and sculptural elements which contrast with the commemorative function of the bust and the funerary epitaph. This ostensibly unusual combination overturns the principle which Longhena had already deployed in the Pesaro monument. At the Frari, Longhena

⁹⁵ This assumption has been defended by Gaier (2002), pp. 321-22.

⁹⁶ See my analysis of the Pesaro monument in Chapter Two, esp. p. 102.

almost exaggerated the elevation of the doge, both visually and metaphorically, by placing the enthroned doge above a sarcophagus showing the Latin inscription ‘He revived here again in 1669’ (Fig. 40). The Latin inscription stressed the elevation of the doge to the status of an immortal leader, a function which is also amplified by the allegorical personifications. At the Ospedaletto, the position of the Latin inscription on the funerary epitaph recalls the Pesaro monument and, to some extent, its significance.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, the commemorative function accomplished by Cargnoni’s bust and the Latin inscription below does not harmonise with the telamones on the sides, which should be displayed in the lower order, as they are in the Pesaro monument. In reality, it makes sense in the Ospedaletto façade to display the telamones in the second order because their function is not submissive, as was the case in the Pesaro monument. Here, the telamones are depicted in the guise of slaves, and therefore deserve the appellation of “barbaric atlantes” or “Barbaric order”.⁹⁸ In contrast, at the Ospedaletto the telamones are represented in the guise of pilgrims and are dressed as wayfarers. The pilgrims which flank the bust of Cargnoni, in particular, are wearing frocks and cloaks with the shell of Saint James on the shoulder, and have a rosary and a canteen at their waists (Figs 96c-d).⁹⁹ This characterisation of the telamones as pilgrims is related to the charitable mission of the hospital of Santi Giovanni e Paolo. In my view, they comically stage their prominence in a pseudo-heroic mode and become a sculpted metaphor of the

⁹⁷ As noted by Gaier (2002), p. 322.

⁹⁸ See Chapter Two, Section 3 for an analysis of the telamones in relation to Longhena’s architectural language.

⁹⁹ Pilo (1982), p. 30, and Gaier (2002), p. 320.

symbolic elevation of the poor and infirm people whom the hospital cared for.¹⁰⁰

In the light of these considerations, it may seem challenging to overcome the dichotomy between the Ospedaletto façade and the Pesaro monument. Nonetheless, it would be wrong to frame an analysis solely within the limits of visual and architectural contrasts. The reason why both monuments are so important lies in their complementarity, and not in their differences. Although it is true that their architectural frameworks are antithetical, they are interrelated by the way in which Longhena harnessed architecture to achieve certain visual effects and to enhance its engagement with the viewer. Similarly to the Pesaro monument, the Ospedaletto is first and foremost a tour de force in terms of creative process. By adopting the same principle of *argutezza* which Longhena had already utilised in the Pesaro monument, the Ospedaletto façade is an experiment with architecture and its interaction with the observer. The Latin inscription in the epitaph below the bust of Cargnoni (Fig. 95), which reads ‘You too spectator, look’,¹⁰¹ encourages the viewer to look at the façade and to ponder over its significance, in close similarity to the motto which is displayed by the keystone putto in the Pesaro monument (Fig. 37).¹⁰² The power of *argutezza* in revivifying the dead is then recalled in the words ‘The buried turns into stone so that

¹⁰⁰ As Hopkins observes, a precedent for the telamones in the Ospedaletto façade must be found in Longhena’s 1640s design for the bookcase of the library in the Benedictine convent of San Giorgio Maggiore, where fluted Ionic encased columns sustained a balustrade with caryatides symbolising the *Illustrious Men*. In addition, a similar iconography characterised a series of drawings for the library of San Domenico in Santi Giovanni e Paolo (1660s) which depicted the triumph of the Dominican fathers over chained telamones symbolising heresy. See Hopkins (2005), p. 300; Silvia Moretti, ‘I disegni di Longhena per la biblioteca dei domenicani dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo a Venezia (1670-1682)’, in Frank (2011), pp. 67-70; Hopkins (2012), pp. 91-99, 117-19 and 167.

¹⁰¹ ‘VIATOR, AGE ET TU!’.

¹⁰² Gaier observes that in the funerary epitaph the words ‘FLAMMAS CARPE CHARITATIS UT REVIVISCAS MDCLXXIV’ recall the Latin inscription ‘HIC REVIXIT ANNO MDCLXIX’ which is displayed in the Pesaro monument. See Gaier (2002), p. 322.

you, who are mourning, turn into stone'.¹⁰³ In this regard, the combination of sculpture and architecture, in conjunction with the relationship between word and image, encourages interaction with the beholder in the same way as the Pesaro monument.

6. *Negligentia diligens*

Licence as a deviation from architectural conventions is the most evident characteristic of the Ospedaletto. In order to comprehend how licence works and the way in which it fashioned the tectonics of the façade, I will focus on classical rhetoric. A brief excursion into the way in which the concept of licence was processed in classical and early modern rhetoric will clarify the point. It was an assumption of rhetoricians that styles of speech were appropriate to the subject and public.¹⁰⁴ Discussing about the styles of speech, Cicero observed that a general rule for the orator is avoiding dissonances. There are some cases, however, where a certain tolerance is admitted. Cicero described a 'careful negligence' (*negligentia diligens*), as a level of style which, albeit uneven or unadorned, engages the public with surprise and delight.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, what Cicero stresses is not the rough and dissonant character of negligence, but rather its pleasantness.¹⁰⁶

Seventeenth-century literature dealt at great length with the playful character of negligence. Authors close to the circle of Emanuele Tesauro and the Venetian

¹⁰³ 'LAPIDESCIT FUNCTUS QUIA FUNGENS LAPIDESCIS'.

¹⁰⁴ See Van Eck (2007), p. 37.

¹⁰⁵ Cicero, *De Oratore*, XXIII, 78.

¹⁰⁶ On the concept of negligence, see the excellent summary in Ernst Gombrich, 'Il palazzo del Te. Riflessioni su mezzo secolo di fortuna critica: 1932-1982', in *Quaderni di Palazzo Te* 1 (1984), p. 19.

Marinists claimed that the main purpose of poetry should be novelty, surprise and delight.¹⁰⁷ In order to achieve this, they emphasised the ornamental use of metaphor as a device to engage the reader through transformations of language and meaning.¹⁰⁸ In the *Cannocchiale aristotelico*, Tesauro argued that one desired effect of metaphor and *argutezza* was the rupture of regulated syntax and conventional denotation.¹⁰⁹ The departure from grammatical correctness surprises the reader by virtue of its unexpected and humorous character.¹¹⁰ Metaphor and wit awake the curiosity of the reader in virtue of their sensual and pleasurable character. As the reader is avid for new stimulus, curiosity appeals to his or her senses and gives pleasure.¹¹¹

A praise of ornamental flamboyance and its connection with architecture is provided by the Ferrarese Jesuit Daniello Bartoli (1608-85). In a section of his treatise on the man of letters entitled *L'uomo di lettere difeso ed emendato* (1645), Bartoli described the so-called 'stile moderno concettoso' as a hyperbolical and exuberant style which nonetheless marvels and delights.¹¹² Moreover, Bartoli provided visual

¹⁰⁷ Philip Sohm, *Pittresco Marco Boschini, his Critics, and their Critiques of Painterly Brushwork in Seventh- and Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 125.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 125. See also Philippe Morel's remarks on the relationship between grotesque and burlesque poetry. As Philippe Morel has explained, both share an infringement of syntactical correctness, resulting in the negation of the principles of classical composition. See Philippe Morel, *Les grotesques. Les figures de l'imaginaire dans la peinture italienne de la fin de la Renaissance* (Paris: Flammarion, 2011, 3rd edition, first published 1997), pp. 205-17.

¹⁰⁹ Sohm (1991), p. 126.

¹¹⁰ Tesauro (1670), p. 466: 'Ancor nelle Parole annovero io quelle decettioni grammaticali; che studiosamente gustano l'Idioma, o la Sintassi dell'Oratore per sorprendere l'Ascoltatore, et farlo ridere. [...] Què vitij grammaticali divengono virtù; et le schiocchezze, artificij: nel modo che il Pittore, non pecca contra l'arte, se a data opera pecca contra l'Arte; alterando le proportioni per bel capriccio, peroche quella non è ignoranza, ma imitatione dell'ignoranza: et per consequente ell'è piacevole, come tutte le altre Imitationi?.'

¹¹¹ Sohm (1991), pp. 129-30.

¹¹² Daniello Bartoli, *L'uomo di lettere difeso ed emendato* (Bari: Edizioni Paoline, 1962, 4th edition, first published 1645), pp. 265-71. On Bartoli, see Marzot (1944), pp. 101-31 and, more recently, Sohm (1991), p. 127.

metaphors for extravagant architectural ornament by evoking amorphic distortions and stylish objects which are devoid of any practical function.¹¹³ One of the most distinctive aspects of Bartoli's writing is his predilection for antitheses and oxymora, figures of speech which pepper the chapters of *La ricreatione del savio* (1659).¹¹⁴ In this book, Bartoli provided a visual metaphor for Baroque architectural ornament. The so-called 'ordine scomposto' described by Bartoli is an architectural order consisting in deformity and disorder. In front of such monstrosity, the reader initially reacts with horror and repugnance. Yet, in spite of the linguistic dissonances used by Bartoli to enhance the sense of revulsion, the 'ordine scomposto' stimulates enjoyment, the reader having found unity in the dissipated and regularity in the disproportion.¹¹⁵

Licence has pride of place in the writings of scholars of architecture. Leon Battista Alberti has already defended licence in a section of the *De re aedificatoria* focused on ornaments, although he advised that it should be used carefully and

¹¹³ See Sohm (1991), p. 128.

¹¹⁴ As Pierantonio Frare observes, Bartoli's predilection for antithesis is paralleled by Tesauro in his *Cannocchiale aristotelico*. For the correspondences between Bartoli and Tesauro, and for an introduction to the *Ricreatione del savio*, see Frare (2000), pp. 122-30. For the relationship between oxymora and architectural flamboyance, see Morel (2011), pp. 205-41 and 253.

¹¹⁵ Daniello Bartoli, *La ricreatione del savio* (Venetia: Nicolò Pezzana, 1660), pp. 137 and 143: 'Il Mondo, con nuovo Ordine d'Architettura Scomposto, e per ciò più artificiosamente composto: [...] Sovviemmi d'haver veduto in un palagio di ricreatione d'un Principe, fra le altre bellissime, una particolar camera tutta finta a capriccio di rovine, con un nuovo stile d'Architettura, che ben potrebbe chiamarsi, l'Ordine Scomposto, e da adoperarvi non meno ingegno, e giudizio, che ne gli altri; dovendosi dare unità al dissipato, gratia al deforme, regola allo sconcio, simmetria allo sconcertato, e, arte al caso. In entrarvi, cagiona horrore, e diletto, il vedersi diroccata in sul capo una fabrica rovinante, se non che, nel cadere, scontratesi a sventura, come mostra lo strano andamento delle pendenze, l'una parte slogata con l'altra, tutta in piè si sostiene, posando bizzarramente sopra membra non proprie, e pur così ben adatte, che l'occhio non che risentirsene come a mostruosità, sommamente gode, trovata una non più veduta specie di proportionione. Io per me credo, che chi ne formò il disegno, vi studiasse intorno il doppio più, che a una fabrica ben ordinata'. On this excerpt from Bartoli, see also Sohm (1991), p. 128.

diligently.¹¹⁶ It is, however, in Sebastiano Serlio's *Trattato di Architettura* that licence as an accepted infringement of rules finds a thorough endorsement. In his *Extraordinario libro di architettura* (1551), Serlio returned to the study of architectural orders, a topic which he had already examined in his *Libro Quarto* (1537) that focused on the theory of general rules ('regole generali') of architecture. In the *Extraordinario libro*, Serlio analyses the fundamental concepts of licence ('accidenti'), variety ('varietà') and mixture ('mescolanza') through the description of thirty portals characterised by the mixture of the rustic order with the three canonical architectural orders. In the preface to the reader, Serlio focuses on the aesthetic seduction which licence generates in the viewer as follows:

I must tell you, respectable reader, the reason why I took so many liberties. I know that the majority of men prefer new things, and there are some who would like to place inscriptions, coats of arms, emblems, or other similar things, in any work they commission [...]. For this reason I took so many liberties, often breaking an architrave, a frieze, or part of a cornice, but nonetheless always relying on some Roman buildings. Sometimes I broke a frontispiece to accommodate a cartouche, or a military trophy. I rusticated many columns, pilasters, architraves occasionally breaking friezes and triglyphs [...]. However, once these ornaments are removed, once cornices are added where they have been broken and columns completed where they were unfinished, the buildings will appear in their integrity and restored to their original aspect. [...] And therefore you architects who rely on Vitruvius's precepts (which I most greatly praise and from which I do not

¹¹⁶ Alberti (1966), vol. 2, pp. 784-87.

intend to steer far away) must condone my numerous ornaments, cartouches, scrolls, volutes, and other superfluous things.¹¹⁷

In the *Extraordinario libro*, the overcoming of the canonical precepts of architecture as Serlio had presented them in the *Regole generali* exposed architects to novel and unprecedented expressive possibilities. Three points within Serlio's theorisation are particularly suggestive. First and foremost, licence should not be taken for granted. As Serlio explained, licence is allowed only when there are rules to infringe. Because architecture is grounded in Vitruvius, canonical rules should remain untouched and even the most unorthodox building will revert to its pristine conditions once licence is removed. For this reason, Serlio's theorisation of licence should be set within the schema of "commodity" ('commodità') and "decorum" ('decoro'), that is, the two principles governing the practice of the "judicious"

¹¹⁷ Sebastiano Serlio, *Extraordinario libro di architettura* (Lione: Giovan di Tournes, 1551), p. A2v: 'Discretissimi Lettori [...] la cagione, per ch'io sia stato così licentioso in molte cose, hora ve la dirò. Dico che conoscendo, che la maggior parte degli huomini appetiscono il più delle volte cose nuove, et massimamente ve ne sono alcuni, che in ogni piccola operetta, che facciano fare, gli vorebbono luoghi assai per porvi lettere, armi, imprese, et cose simili [...]. Per tal cagione sono io trascorso in cotai licentie, rompendo spesse fiate uno Architrave, il Fregio, et anchora parte della Cornice: servendomi perhò di l'autorità di alcune antichità Romane. Talvolta ho rotto un Frontispice per locarvi una tabella, o una arme. Ho fasciato di molte colonne, pilastrate, et supercigli, rompendo alcuna volta degli Fregi, et de Triglyphi [...]. Le quai tutte cose levate via, et aggiunte delle Cornici, dove son rotte, et finite quelle colonne che sono imperfette, le opere rimarranno integre et nella sua prima forma. [...] Ma o voi Architetti fondati sopra la dottrina di Vitruvio (la quale summamente io lodo, et dalla quale io non intendo allontanarmi molto) habbiatemi per excusato di tanti ornamenti, di tante tabelle, di tanti cartocci, volute, et di tanti superflui [...]'.

On the *Extraordinario libro*, see Giulio Carlo Argan, 'Il "Libro Extraordinario" di Sebastiano Serlio', in id., *Studi e note dal Bramante al Canova* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1970), pp. 60-70; Ernst Gombrich, 'Architecture and Rhetoric in Giulio Romano's Palazzo del Te', in id., *New Light on Old Masters* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1986), pp. 161-70; Johannes Erichsen, 'L'Extraordinario Libro di Architettura. Note su un manoscritto inedito', in *Sebastiano Serlio: sesto seminario internazionale di storia dell'architettura*, ed. Christof Thoenes (Milan: Electa, 1989), pp. 190-95; Alina Alexandra Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance. Architectural Invention, Ornament, and Literary Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 121-22; Francesco Paolo Fiore, *Introduzione*, in Sebastiano Serlio, *L'architettura. I libri I-VII e Extraordinario nelle prime edizioni*, ed. Francesco Paolo Fiore (Milan: Il Polifilo, 2001), pp. 11-54.

(“giudizioso”) architect.¹¹⁸ Secondly, the variety and blending of architectural orders are conceived as alterations or amendments of general rules offered to the “judicious” architect. Since their first description in the *Regole generali*, architectural orders have not been not rigid categories; they can have variable proportions and are often interchangeable. Especially through their combination with the rustic order, the canonical orders are articulated with a certain freedom and are thus presented as linchpins of invention for the “judicious” architect.¹¹⁹ Thirdly, mixture is intrinsically attractive because novel and new things are more appealing than those which are conventional. Thus, licence appeals to the observer more than a rigid observation of rules: as Serlio explained in the *Regole generali*, the mixture of architectural orders transcends proportions, so that architects can better enhance their engagement with the public.¹²⁰ A leitmotif within Serlio’s theorisation is, therefore, the polysemy and multifunctionality of architectural orders and units. By adding ornaments to primary architectural structures, Serlio observed that with just a few changes a building can serve different purposes. For instance, in the section of the *Libro quarto* focused on façades of churches, Serlio stressed that architectural orders can be interchangeable and can be used in different types of buildings.¹²¹ Similarly, in the *Extraordinario libro*,

¹¹⁸ “Commodity” refers to the purposes for which a building is devised, the social, economical and cultural background of the patron and the functions of the different architectural units of a building. “Decorum” involves requirements in good taste in relation to the context and the mentality of the customer. See Fiore (2001), p. 35.

¹¹⁹ See *ibid.*, p. 39.

¹²⁰ Sebastiano Serlio, *Regole generali di architettura sopra le cinque maniere de gli edifici, cioè, Toscano, Dorico, Corinthio, et Composito, con gli essempli dell’antiquità, che, per la maggior parte concordano con la dottrina di Vitruvio* (Venetia: Francesco Marcolini, 1537), p. 26v: ‘Tal volta, una mescolanza per modo di dire, torna più grata per la diversità a i riguardanti, che una pura semplicità di sua propria natura’.

¹²¹ See for example Serlio (1537), p. 58r, and Sebastiano Serlio, *Architettura civile. Libri sesto settimo e ottavo nei manoscritti di Monaco e Vienna*, ed. Francesco Paolo Fiore (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1994), p. 103.

Serlio underlined the efficacy of licence as a device apt to provide architects with novel and marvellous expressive possibilities.¹²²

7. The Architecture of the Ospedaletto

Understanding Serlio's remarks on licence is an essential grounding which is needed in order to comprehend the Ospedaletto façade. Besides being a treatise on architecture, Serlio's *Trattato di Architettura* is a study of the metaphorical function of the architectural orders. For the first time, the architectural orders known in the Renaissance were endowed with a metaphorical meaning which broadens the sphere of architecture to critical theory, contemporary poetry and philosophy.¹²³ In what way, then, do Serlio's remarks help us to understand the tectonics of the façade? To answer this question, it is necessary to analyse its individual architectural units and place them in relation with iconographic tradition. The function of these units mirrors Serlio's notions of mixture and licence. Although there is no direct evidence that Longhena devised the façade with a precise section of Serlio's treatise in mind, the way in which Longhena charged the architectural units of the Ospedaletto with a metaphorical function is very close to Serlio's ideas on licence. A more attentive examination of the iconography of the architectural orders of the façade will better clarify the point.

¹²² Serlio (1551), see especially the descriptions of the portals no. VI, XXV, XXVIII, XXIX and XXX.

¹²³ See the stimulating observations by James Ackermann, 'The Tuscan/Rustic Order: A Study in the Metaphorical Language of Architecture', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42: 1 (1983), p. 34.

The first order of the Ospedaletto displays a fusion of Ionic pilasters with Tuscan herms.¹²⁴ This sort of camouflage of an Ionic pilaster, albeit an unusual one, is not without precursors. For example, the French sculptor and architect Hugues Sambin (c. 1520-1601) described illustrations of the Ionic order with herms, caryatides or grotesque figures in his *Diversite des termes* which was published in Lyon in 1572 (Fig. 100).¹²⁵ Moreover, herms enveloping Ionic pilasters or columns were illustrated in the *Architectura*, a treatise on architecture teeming with ornamental fantasies by the German mannerist Wendel Dietterlin (1550/51-99, Fig. 101).¹²⁶ In Italy and in the Veneto, unusual alterations of canonical architectural orders were part of the figurative repertoire of Mannerism. It is likely that some of these innovations were introduced to the Veneto especially thanks to the mediation of Giulio Romano and stonecutters (*lapicidi*) arriving in the Veneto from Lombardy and the Ticino.¹²⁷ Suffice it to mention the rusticated Ionic columns – although they are different from the “Barbaric order” of the Ospedaletto – on the *piano nobile* of Palazzo Thiene in Vicenza, or the herms in place of Ionic pilasters in the portal of Palazzo Verità Montanari in Verona (Fig. 102).

Although unconventional, these examples are inventive variations on canonical architectural orders, whereas at the Ospedaletto the fusion between Ionic and Tuscan deserves further scrutiny. On the one hand, a theorisation of the use and

¹²⁴ Gaier (2002), pp. 320-21.

¹²⁵ Hugues Sambin, *Oeuvre de la diversite des termes* (Lyon: Jean Durand, 1572), pp. 30-40.

¹²⁶ Wendel Dietterlin, *Architectura von Anustheilung, Symmetria und Proportion der Fünff Seulen* (Nuremberg: Paul Fürst, 1655, first published 1593), pp. 93r-133r.

¹²⁷ Cf. Bertin's remarkable essay (1992), pp. 25-40, esp. pp. 30, 31 and 34.

significance of this combination is provided by Serlio.¹²⁸ On the other, the influence of sixteenth-century grotesque decorations as they were practiced by late sixteenth-century North Italian sculptors and architects should be considered. Both Serlio and Mannerist architects visually exemplified the concepts of ambiguity and irony, which for the first time become tools of artistic expression.¹²⁹ The metaphor of irony as a compresence of opposed qualities has pride of place in buildings where contrasts and dissonances are permitted and cherished by virtue of their capacity to enhance rhetorical potential.¹³⁰ Above all, the influence of Mannerist architecture in the Veneto allows us to contextualise the Ospedaletto façade within a consolidated architectural and iconographical tradition. In spite of the lack of an iconographical programme, much can be deduced from an attentive analysis of Longhena's personal style and from a comparative reading with façades of church buildings which are akin to the Ospedaletto.¹³¹

The lion heads which characterise the Tuscan herms of the Ospedaletto façade find a precedent in the grotesque masks which decorate the wooden doors and the Doric frieze of the temple of Santa Croce in Riva San Vitale (Lugano, Fig. 103). Formerly attributed to Pellegrino Tibaldi, the church was devised by Giovanni Antonio Piotti, also known as Vacallo, between 1580 and 1594.¹³² Like the

¹²⁸ Most notably in the *Regole generali* and in the *Extraordinario libro*, although Serlio's discusses the concept of mixture more thoroughly and at length.

¹²⁹ Manfredo Tafuri, *L'architettura del Manierismo nel Cinquecento europeo* (Rome: Officina, 1966), p. 48.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-52.

¹³¹ On this approach, cf. the valuable insights provided by Andrea Guerra, review of Andrew Hopkins, *Santa Maria della Salute. Architecture and Ceremony in Baroque Venice*, in *Annali di architettura* 14 (2002), p. 288, and Hopkins (2003), p. 121.

¹³² On Santa Croce, see Stefano Della Torre, 'L'architetto Giovanni Antonio Piotti da Vacallo e la renovatio cinquecentesca del S. Abbondio', in *S. Abbondio, lo spazio e il tempo. Tradizione storica e recupero*

Ospedaletto, the grotesque masks are conspicuous for their physiognomic expressiveness and zoomorphism. Although the similarity with the Ospedaletto is captivating, these masks can be considered as Mannerist transformations of apotropaic decorations, as they had been displayed at the entrance of churches and sanctuaries from the Middle Ages onwards.¹³³

The façade of Santa Maria presso San Celso in Milan provides a more direct connection with the Ospedaletto. Devised by Galeazzo Alessi and completed by Martino Bassi between 1572 and 1592, this elaborate façade displays leonine herms in the frieze below the pedimental gable (Fig. 104). Originally conceived as decorations framed by the triglyph-like blocks in the frieze, the design of the herms changed in the actual façade. Here, the herms emerge from the frieze as an independent order: they are fluted, the shafts are square and the leonine heads are contained in inverted U-shaped brackets.¹³⁴ Herms are among Alessi's most recognisable motifs and can be found in numerous of his buildings, both civic and ecclesiastical, from the loggia overlooking the courtyard of Palazzo Marino in Milan to the south portal of the cathedral of Perugia.¹³⁵ Herms are more striking and closer to those of the Ospedaletto in San Raffaele in Milan, a medieval church which was

architettonico (Como: New Press, 1984), pp. 277-82.

¹³³ See Morel (2011), p. 32. For a survey of these figurations in north Italian church buildings, cf. Stefano Della Torre and Richard Schofield, *Pellegrino Tibaldi architetto e il S. Fedele di Milano. Invenzione e costruzione di una chiesa esemplare* (Como: Nodolibri, 1994), p. 98. Further examples include the grotesque mask above the north portal of Santa Maria Formosa, or the zoomorphic sculptures on the façade of Santa Margherita (now Università Ca' Foscari, Venice).

¹³⁴ Nancy Houghton Brown, *The Milanese Architecture of Galeazzo Alessi* (New York: Garland, 1982), pp. 161-88 and 488-96. For the leonine herms, see *ibid.*, pp. 170-71, 180-81, 494, and Maria Luisa Gatti Perer, 'Martino Bassi, il Sacro Monte di Varallo e S.ta Maria presso San Celso a Milano', *Arte lombarda* 9 (1964), p. 51.

¹³⁵ For a complete overview of Alessi, see the essays in *Galeazzo Alessi* (1975).

reconstructed around 1578. The lower order of the façade has been ascribed to Pellegrino Tibaldi and displays protruding herms with fluted shafts and leonine heads (Fig. 105). The herms flank the three portals and support the uppermost register executed by the Milanese architect Paolo Cesa Bianchi in 1892.¹³⁶

It is conceivable that Longhena acquainted himself with late sixteenth-century Milanese church architecture in 1653 when he was invited to express an expert opinion on Carlo Buzzi's and Francesco Castelli's proposals for the completion of the cathedral in Milan.¹³⁷ His response was printed in a volume published in 1656 containing the opinions of eight other architects, including the Milanese architect Francesco Maria Ricchino.¹³⁸ In 1592 the chapter of the cathedral had announced a competition for the completion of the façade, in which Ricchino took part in presenting a number of proposals.¹³⁹ Especially interesting in Ricchino's drawings are the recurring leonine heads, perhaps influenced by Alessi, which are to be found on the cornices in both the lower and upper orders of the façade (Fig. 106).¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ On San Raffaele, see Houghton Brown (1982), pp. 534-40 and *Le chiese di Milano*, ed. Maria Teresa Florio (Milan: Electa, 1985), pp. 226-29. For the use of herms in the place of columns or pilasters in church buildings by Tibaldi or other sixteenth-century Italian architects, see the stimulating insights in Della Torre and Schofield (1994), pp. 96-98.

¹³⁷ Hopkins (2012), p. 29. On the influence the debate on the construction of the Milanese cathedral had on sixteenth-century architects in Venice and beyond, cf. Frank (2004), p. 269.

¹³⁸ Hopkins (2003), p. 125; Hopkins (2012), p. 29.

¹³⁹ See Cecilia Bocciarelli, 'L'attività di Francesco Maria Ricchino nel Duomo di Milano nei primi decenni del Seicento', in *Il duomo di Milano. Congresso internazionale, Milano, Museo della scienza e della tecnica, 8-12 settembre 1968*, ed. Maria Luisa Gatti Perer, vol. 1 (Milan: Edizioni la rete, 1969), pp. 175-88.

¹⁴⁰ Equally interesting is Ricchino's portal of the Seminario Arcivescovile in Milan (1635). The portal displays projecting herms on a rusticated wall and surmounted by volutes with zoomorphic decorations. See Aurora Scotti Tosini, 'Lo stato di Milano', in *Storia dell'architettura italiana. Il Seicento*, ed. Aurora Scotti Tosini, vol. 2 (Milan: Electa, 1997), p. 453.

8. The Figures of Paradox

Mannerist ornamentations influenced the execution of the Ospedaletto façade on iconographical and metaphorical grounds. On the one hand, the way in which chimeric figures being in vogue during Mannerism also affected the imaginative creation of seventeenth-century painting and architecture has been demonstrated.¹⁴¹ On the other, the both playful and monstrous aspects of these decorations evoke the marvels and the alterity of nature.¹⁴² During the Renaissance, the arts marked the triumph of humans over nature. Through the discovery of perspective and the study of antiquity, the Renaissance celebrated the victory of science over the primitive state of nature. Architecture in particular signalled the progressive rise of science and pragmatism, whereas nature represented the feral and primordial instincts.¹⁴³ As Vitruvius explained, architecture originated from nature and eventually surpassed it, on account of its reliance on *techne* as the technical mastery which is necessary to achieve a mimetic representation of nature.¹⁴⁴ It is no surprise, then, that grotesque ornamentations have been generally regarded with scepticism: Vitruvius condemned the chimeric figures decorating Roman mural paintings, and Horace did likewise at the opening of his *Ars poetica*.¹⁴⁵ Notably, Vitruvius's and Horace's critique of the grotesque was recalled by Cesare Cesariano, Daniele Barbaro and Ludovico Dolce among others.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ See Eugenio Battisti, *L'antinascimento* (Milan: Garzanti, 1989, first published 1962), pp. 38-39.

¹⁴² Morel (2011), pp. 202-03.

¹⁴³ Morolli (1981), p. 83. See also the useful insights by Manfredo Tafuri, 'Il mito naturalistico nell'Architettura del '500', *L'arte* 1 (1968), pp. 7-36.

¹⁴⁴ *I dieci libri* (1567), esp. pp. 68, 70, 161-66; Morolli (1981), p. 83.

¹⁴⁵ *I dieci libri* (1567), pp. 319-20, and Horace, *Ars poetica* 1-13, cited by Morel (2011), pp. 297-99.

¹⁴⁶ Morel (2011), pp. 300-01.

The ambiguity originating from the subversion of architectural rules, the dichotomy between architecture and nature, and irony intended as the union of opposite entities are all elements which characterise the phantasmagorical universe of the grotesque which in the Ospedaletto façade become architectural units which convey both artistic and social messages.¹⁴⁷ Observed from bottom to top, the sequence of visual and architectural contrasts delineates a sort of evolution from which the grotesque herms ascend to the cardinal virtues (Fig. 98). In the lower register, the barbaric order evokes the most primitive advancement of architecture over nature. The rustic herms as symbol of nature and their fusion with the Ionic pilaster may be construed as a metaphor of the lowest grade of the social hierarchy which nonetheless mimics the highest social classes with mocking and scowling expressions. The lion heads (Figs 94a-d) are, perhaps, a caricature of the humble classes which take pride in their modest status.

The irony surrounding the Tuscan herms is exemplified in an illustration from Gabriel Krammer's *Architectura*, dated 1600 (Fig. 107). Here, a herm in the guise of a peasant introduces the reader to the robustness and the rusticity which characterise both his social rank and the five Tuscan herms represented alongside him, as the German inscription below the illustration explains.¹⁴⁸ Being the roughest of the architectural orders, the Tuscan order was prone to assuming a comic or grotesque

¹⁴⁷ For this interpretation of the grotesque, see Tafuri (1966), esp. pp. 44-52, Tafuri (1968), pp. 7-36 and Morel (2011), *passim*, esp. pp. 165-294.

¹⁴⁸ 'Ich kan mich nit subtiler mache[n]'. For this illustration, see Erik Forssman, *Säule und Ornament. Studien zum Problem des Manierismus in den nordischen Säulenbüchern und Vorlageblättern des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1956), pp. 153-54. The connection between the iconography of the herms illustrated by Krammer and the Ospedaletto façade has been noted by Gaier (2002), p. 321.

significance, according to the context and the purposes for which it was employed in a building. In architectural theory, the Tuscan order was regarded as inferior to the Doric, and was generally associated with the regression of architecture from *techne* to nature.¹⁴⁹ This interpretation of the Tuscan order justifies its characterisation as “barbaric” and its structural function in the Ospedaletto façade. Architects of the High Renaissance pointed out that, being strong and robust, the Tuscan order was suitable for sustaining weight.¹⁵⁰ Palladio recommended the Tuscan on buildings with many storeys, in place of the Doric and under the Ionic.¹⁵¹ It was, however, Serlio who offered the most interesting insights: he claimed that by mixing the Tuscan with the Doric, the Ionic and the Corinthian, architects can create buildings which are half works of man and half works of nature.¹⁵² The unusual contrast between rough and plain elements catches the curiosity of the spectator, thereby arousing contrasting sensations.¹⁵³

Returning to the Ospedaletto, an idea of progress is implicit in the contrast between the robust atlases and the pilgrims in the second order of the façade. Colossal and half-naked, the atlases on the lateral extremities (Figs 96a, b) are represented as giants, the mythical creatures which were regarded as the early

¹⁴⁹ Morolli (1981), p. 58.

¹⁵⁰ See for example Vincenzo Scamozzi, *Dell'idea della architettura universale* (Venetia, 1615), Part Two, Book Six, p. 3. See also Morolli (1981), pp. 58-66.

¹⁵¹ Andrea Palladio, *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (Venetia: Dominico de' Franceschi, 1570), Book One, p. 11, quoted by Ackerman (1983), pp. 20-21. A similar principle is applied to the Pesaro monument: here the telamonic order sustains the Doric entablature supporting Corinthian columns.

¹⁵² Serlio (1537), p. 13v. Especially interesting is the description of the “Barbaric order” in the portal no. 29 of the *Extraordinario libro*.

¹⁵³ Serlio (1537), p. 13v.

inhabitants of the world in the primitive age.¹⁵⁴ By contrast, the pilgrims (Fig. 96c-d) symbolically sustain the metaphorical weight of poverty and can be construed as carriers of the spiritual and pastoral function which was performed by the hospital of Santi Giovanni e Paolo. This function is amplified by their appearance, which is reminiscent of the iconography of the apostle Saint James.¹⁵⁵ As pilgrims, they are ambassadors for a social legitimation which can be achieved only through the rejection of material goods and the exercise of the cardinal virtues. The cult of Saint James is further recalled both visually and textually in the shell accommodating the bust of Cargnoni and in the Latin epigraph below it. By paraphrasing a passage from the gospel of Saint Matthew and the letter of Saint James, the Latin inscription invites the observer to refrain from living in indulgence and instead to accumulate treasures in heaven (Mt. 6:20; James 5:2-4).¹⁵⁶ By encouraging the viewers to direct their gaze at the monument, the epigraph is the carrier of an evangelical message encouraging the reader to seek poverty as the precondition to achieving eternal life, which is the true richness. As a façade designed as a frontispiece to the church of a hospital, Longhena's design can, therefore, be considered an attempt at a symbolic heroisation of the humble with comic undertones: a playful reflection on the place of the poor and sick in supporting the edifice of charity.

¹⁵⁴ Morolli (1981), p. 64.

¹⁵⁵ Frank (2004), p. 73.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 73. For the transcription of the Latin inscription, see above, note 92. The significance of the Latin inscription is mirrored in Cargnoni's coat of arms depicting an ostrich, the animal which recognises the right moment to lay its eggs by observing the sky. For this interpretation, see *ibid.*, p. 73.

* * *

This chapter has focused on the way in which the patronage of Venetian nobles and merchants contributed to the creation of a particular sense of self and a desire for self-promotion. The fashioning of the identity of the patricians admitted to the nobility after 1646 was influenced by their perception of aristocracy and by their image of the ruling class. Despite its reluctance to extend its privileges to newcomers who would otherwise have been excluded from nobility, the Venetian patriciate indirectly transformed the otherwise outrageous aggregations in a move to enable Venice to once again appear wealthier and stronger. Accordingly, the Venetian citizens admitted to the patriciate, who were motivated by the moral obligation to serve the state, both adhered to the ideals of civic responsibility and at the same time transformed them into a way to promote their own image.

Regarding the architecture, the Ospedaletto façade and the Fini monument provide an idealised perception of Venice as a sanctuary of liberty and a refuge for any citizen. In this way, the liberality and magnificence of Venice are reinstated as the rhetorical components of a mythic dimension to which the images collectively accrue. Despite their differences, San Moisè and the Ospedaletto façade show an intricate relationship with the Pesaro monument both on architectural and metaphorical grounds. The emphasis on self-celebration is especially mirrored in the upward mobility of the Fini, who found in the ducal nobility a model with which they could identify themselves. The interaction between architecture and the viewer in the

Ospedaletto façade is, in contrast, presented under the auspices of a social, albeit comical, legitimization of the lower classes. Furthermore, the complexity of this façade allows us to appreciate the extent to which architecture and experimentation followed the same path, leaving their mark in late seventeenth-century Venice.

Licence as disruption of rules; the interaction between architecture and the beholder; funerary monuments as a visual means to celebrate the self and as a vehicle to perpetuate identity; the intertwined relationship between architecture, literature and visual rhetoric: these are the factors which we have hitherto analysed and which are still fundamental in the works of one of the most striking yet overlooked architects in seventeenth-century Venice: Antonio Gaspari, the author of several designs for a funerary monument to Doge Francesco Morosini.

Chapter Five

Antonio Gaspari's Designs for Doge Francesco Morosini

The idea of being a member of a community ruled by a skilful and efficient governing body is one of the most remarkable fabrications of the so-called “myth of Venice”. The mythification of the self was the process through which Venice conveyed a centripetal and quasi-narcissist perception of its civic identity. As a city state, Venice produced a keen awareness of its republican pride: regardless of the nomenclatures coined by historians to metaphorically define Venice as an unspoilt and unrivalled republic – heir to Rome, Astraea, or the most serene republic, to name but a few – its republican ideology grounded its fundamental principles in an ideal of social cohesion and of an incorruptible ruling class.¹

As a result of the idealised self-perception of the patriciate, Venice idolised its leaders as the depositaries of the moral, civil and religious principles which combined to create the “perfection” of Venice. Especially significant is the glorification of the naval captains of the Republic and in particular of their bodies. As Alberto Tenenti observed, the bodies of these captains represented one of the most singular projections of the qualities defining Venice’s strength.² Venetian commanders were ready to sacrifice their life if this was necessary to fully accomplish their duty. The

¹ Alberto Tenenti, ‘La repubblica di Venezia nel periodo Galileiano’, in *Galileo Galilei e la cultura veneziana: atti del convegno di studio nell’ambito delle celebrazioni galileiane indette dall’Università degli studi di Padova (1592-1992)*, Venezia, 8-20 Giugno 1992 (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1992), p. 20.

² Ibid., p. 17. See also Casini (2001), p. 219.

celebratory rhetoric exalted the injuries suffered by Venetian soldiers both textually and visually, as well as the “heroic” body of those who received military honours.³ Regardless of the outcome of their military campaigns, Venetian military leaders saw their status increased and enhanced by both words and images.

Funerary monuments which were conceived as an aggrandisement of the deceased mirrored the self-centred perception that the Venetians had of their identity. In the seventeenth century, this phenomenon reached its peak with the monuments which were erected to Francesco Morosini, the admiral of the Venetian republic and then Doge from 1688 to 1694. Morosini was one of the most eccentric protagonists in Venetian history. Driven by an exuberant personality and by a palpable sense of military service, Morosini superintended the defence of Candia as a naval captain during the Turks’ twenty-five-year long siege of the island. In the aftermath of the controversial cession of Candia to the Ottomans in 1669, Morosini was accused of high treason and his reputation as a military leader was blemished by scandal. After returning to Venice and receiving minor roles, Morosini gave evidence of his military valour at the outbreak of the Morean war in 1684. As the newly elected naval captain, he went to Greece where he conquered most of the Peloponnesus. During the siege of Athens in 1687, Morosini took a major role in the bombardment of the Parthenon where opposing forces had sought refuge. Despite its being infamous, this event was neglected by contemporary historiography. In 1688, Morosini was proclaimed doge

³ Suffice it to mention Paolo Paruta’s *Oratione funebre* (1572), a funerary oration dedicated to the victims of the battle of Lepanto (1571), or the monument to Captain Marcantonio Bragadin in Santi Giovanni e Paolo (1593-96), the Venetian captain who was flayed alive by the Ottoman General Lala Mustafa Pasha in 1571.

and was given the appellation of “Peloponnesiacus” (*Il Peloponnesiaco*) in recognition of his military conquests in the Peloponnesus. After returning to Venice and receiving military honours, he was elected naval captain for the third time. Octogenarian and incorruptible, he moved to Greece for a second time, where he died on 6 January 1694.⁴

Morosini’s political and military career offers a most suitable case study to analyse the mechanisms through which Venetian leaders were exalted. This chapter investigates Antonio Gaspari’s projects for a funerary monument to Morosini in Santo Stefano and on the façade of San Vidal. In his will, which he composed in 1693, Morosini left 27,000 ducats to finance the renovation of his family palace in Santo Stefano and the execution of two funerary monuments, one to himself and the other to his family, on the sides of the high altar of Santo Stefano.⁵ Although these ambitious projects were never realised, they are documented in a number of drawings which are preserved in the Museo Correr, Venice (Figs 108-113).⁶ Moreover, Gaspari devised a series of projects for the reconstruction of San Vidal, a church situated in the *contrada* of the Morosini family (Figs 122-133). These projects display a memorial for Morosini to be incorporated in the church façade: a monument that was never mentioned by Morosini in his will. In addition to these

⁴ For a biography of Morosini, see Da Mosto (2003), pp. 426-40. An intriguing analysis of Morosini’s military career is provided by Raines (2006), pp. 320-37.

⁵ ASV, *Notarile, Testamenti*, b. 1167, n. 154, quoted by Bartolomeo Cecchetti, ‘Il testamento, i funerali, la sepoltura e l’arma del doge Francesco Morosini’, *Archivio veneto* 29 (1885), pp. 69-79. Santo Stefano was the parish church of the Morosini della Sbarra, the branch of the Morosini family from which the doge descended.

⁶ I wish to thank the director and the staff of the *Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe* of the Museo Correr for allowing me to take free high-resolution pictures of the majority of these drawings.

projects, Gaspari executed the design for a state-funded honorific arch to Morosini at the entrance of the *Sala dello Scrutinio* in the Doge's Palace (Fig. 114). Gaspari's proposed design for the honorific arch was replaced by a different one devised by Andrea Tirali, which followed the senate's decision to pay homage to Morosini with a bronze portrait bust to be exhibited in the *Sala del Consiglio dei Dieci* (Fig. 115).⁷

Gaspari's drawings are conspicuous for their inventiveness and eclecticism. Their originality has been noted by scholarship. Essentially, studies on these designs mainly focus on their iconography and clarify issues pertaining to their attribution and patronage.⁸ The rediscovery of archival documents concerning both the Santo Stefano monuments and the renovation of San Vidal has helped to clarify their chronology, their agents, and the most probable reasons why they were both left unexecuted.⁹ By relying and expanding on previous studies, in this chapter a visual analysis of Gaspari's drawings will shed new light on their iconography, their architectural sources, and most notably on the influence that both late Renaissance and Roman Baroque tomb sculpture and architecture had on Gaspari. In addition, I

⁷ The bust was executed by the Genoese sculptor Filippo Parodi (1630-1702). The original decree of the senate (11 August 1687) concerned a marble bust, although on 23 December the senate opted for a bronze portrait statue. As Gaier observed, there is a marble bust identical to the bronze version at the Museo Correr, which was evidently executed by Parodi before the modification of the senate's decree in August 1687. See Gaier (2002), pp. 355-56.

⁸ Elena Bassi, 'Episodi dell'architettura veneta nell'opera di Antonio Gaspari', *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 3 (1963), pp. 66-69; Susanna Biadene, 'Antonio Gaspari: i progetti non realizzati', in *Le Venezia possibili: da Palladio a Le Corbusier*, eds Lionello Puppi and Giandomenico Romanelli (Milan: Electa, 1985), p. 95; Puppi and Rugolo (1997), p. 647; Valentina Conticelli, 'Architettura e celebrazione a Venezia: i progetti di Antonio Gaspari per Francesco Morosini', *Studi veneziani* 38 (1999), pp. 129-77; Gaier (2002), pp. 353-77; Da Mosto (2003), p. 438; Favilla and Rugolo (2004-05), pp. 87-114. Critics agree that all the drawings of the Santo Stefano monuments and the San Vidal façade are authentic, although Martin Gaier suggested that Gaspari cannot be considered the author of one drawing for the San Vidal façade (BCV, RG I, 45), for which see Gaier (2002), p. 360. Gaier's arguments have been challenged by Favilla and Rugolo (2004-05), p. 93.

⁹ Conticelli (1999), pp. 129-31, 137-38, 144-47; Gaier (2002), pp. 353-77; Favilla and Rugolo (2004-05), pp. 89-90, 109.

shall also argue that the distinctive style of Gaspari's drawings metaphorically represents the psychological and emotional traits of Morosini's charismatic personality: heroism, vigour and strength. By focusing on Sebastiano Serlio's theory of rustication, the influence of Mannerism on late seventeenth-century Venetian architecture and the impact of ephemeral architectural display on these projects, I will demonstrate the way in which these drawings metaphorically likened Morosini to something approaching an absolute ruler. This peculiar aspect of Gaspari's architectural style, which is so evident in the drawings, has not been noted by Valentina Conticelli and Martin Gaier, the authors of the two main scholarly publications on Gaspari's designs.¹⁰ Finally, this chapter will analyse the rhetorical values invoked by Gaspari's designs in relation to poems which were composed in honour to Morosini during his lifetime and after his death. Stylistically connected to the eulogies praising Giovanni Pesaro and Caterino Cornaro, these poems provide a literal counterpart to Gaspari's designs. Therefore, a comparative analysis between these poems and the drawings will provide us with an opportunity to complement the analysis of the concept of the living image and to frame the study of Gaspari's designs within the reciprocal interactions between words, images, the history of the imagery and visual rhetoric.

1. Antonio Gaspari's Designs for Santo Stefano

On 4 August 1692 the chapter of the convent of Santo Stefano authorised Morosini to execute two wall tombs (*depositi*) on the northern and southern sides of the

¹⁰ Conticelli (1999), pp. 129-77; Gaier (2002), pp. 353-77.

presbytery.¹¹ In 1694, the request was formally approved and Pietro Morosini, the nephew of the doge, made arrangements with a large team of sculptors, including Francesco Cabianca and Marino GropPELLI among others.¹² Concerns about the alteration of the presbytery as a result of the erections of the monuments led to a dispute between Pietro Morosini and the friars which eventually resulted in the abandonment of the programme.¹³ On 10 November 1694, Pietro Morosini agreed with the friars that the tomb of the doge should be accommodated in a grave in the central nave of Santo Stefano, in front of the altar dedicated to the Annunciation.¹⁴ The tombstone (Fig. 116) was designed by Gaspari and executed with the collaboration of Filippo Parodi. It depicts the coat of arms of the doge with the *pileus* and the rapier, the honorific gifts Morosini which had received from Pope Alexander VIII in 1690, and a funerary epigraph which dedicates the tombstone to the doge.¹⁵ Alongside Gaspari's projects, the tombstone is the only visual document attesting to the designs made for Morosini monuments in Santo Stefano.¹⁶

Gaspari proposed three versions of the monuments in Santo Stefano, which are documented in five drawings (Figs 108-113). Two sketches of the first and

¹¹ ASV, *Santo Stefano*, b. 34, proc. 482, f. 35r, quoted by Cecchetti (1885), p. 73.

¹² The sculptors involved were the following: Giovanni Comin, Giovanni Toschini, Francesco Cabianca, Marino GropPELLI, Giovanni Battista GropPELLI, Pietro Tirali, the bronze founder Antonio Trabucco and the stonecutters Lorenzo Viviani and Zuanne Canciani. See Favilla and Rugolo (2004-05), p. 114.

¹³ ASV, *Santo Stefano*, b. 34, proc. 482, f. 34r, quoted by Cecchetti (1885), p. 69 and Gaier (2002), p. 370. For the dispute with the friars, see Conticelli (1999), p. 137; Gaier (2002), pp. 368-71; Favilla and Rugolo (2004-05), pp. 114-17.

¹⁴ ASV, *Santo Stefano*, b. 34, proc. 482, f. 36v, quoted by Cecchetti (1885), p. 76.

¹⁵ 'FRANCISCI MAUROCENI PELOPONNESIACI VENETIARUM PRINCIPIS OSSA 1694'.

¹⁶ For an exhaustive analysis of the documentation describing these projects, see the chronological reconstructions by Conticelli (1999), p. 137; Gaier (2002), pp. 369-71; Favilla and Rugolo (2004-05), pp. 114-18.

preliminary version of the Santo Stefano monuments (Figs 108-109) display symmetrical prospects of the northern and southern walls on the presbytery, incorporating respectively the bust of Morosini and a decorative pyramid. Two watercolour drawings illustrating the second version (Figs 110-112) provide a clear idea of the complexity of the entire project. These drawings combine elements taken from the first version, involve the use of polychrome marbles, and present a variety of allegorical figures. A record of the third and last version (Fig. 113) is provided in a folio sheet which displays a view of the northern nave of Santo Stefano. In this drawing, Gaspari conceived a renovation of the entire nave, with a central focus on the altar of San Nicolò da Tolentino framed by two pyramids on the sides and a lantern at the top.¹⁷

The preparatory drawings can be dated between 1687 and 1688, because they show the marble portrait bust the senate had requested in 1687 and Morosini is wearing the hat of a naval captain instead of the *corneo ducale* (Fig. 108).¹⁸ The watercolour drawings were evidently executed after Morosini's funeral in January 1694 (Figs 110-112). The design of the pyramid is in fact partially inspired by the catafalque which was used during the funeral of the doge, which Gaspari copied from that of the duke of Beaufort which had been designed by Bernini in 1669.¹⁹ Finally, it is likely that the third version was devised between Morosini's funeral and 10 August 1694, when the drawings for these monuments were definitively

¹⁷ Figure 113 is a detail of the whole drawing which measures 630 x 1089 mm and shows the entire view of the north nave.

¹⁸ Gaier (2002), p. 357.

¹⁹ See Conticelli (1999), p. 139.

abandoned in favour of the tombstone in the central nave (Figs 113, 116).²⁰

The thematic content of Gaspari's designs visualises a set of virtues which the celebratory rhetoric regarded as fundamental: Morosini's expansionist politics and the justification of war as a necessary condition to achieving peace. Similarly to the monuments to Giovanni Pesaro, Caterino Cornaro and Antonio Barbaro, Gaspari's drawings were partially influenced by contemporary panegyrics extolling Morosini on the one hand, and by republican propaganda as exemplified by previous works by scholars such as Paolo Paruta and Marco Trevisan on the other. From the point of view of visual rhetoric, the aggrandisement implicit in these projects is the visual counterpart of the rhetorical forms of hyperbole and *comparatio*. It is evident that these monuments were meant to metaphorically increase the status of Morosini through the visualisation of his main exploits and of the qualities which were equally the cause, and the effect, of his achievements.

In the two drawings of the first version of the Santo Stefano monuments, a portrait bust placed on a pedestal above a sarcophagus (Fig. 108) and a pyramid flanked by allegorical personifications (Fig. 109) occupy the entire bay of the side walls of the presbytery. Framed within columns and pilasters supporting the Gothic vault, both monuments invite the interaction of architecture and sculpture.²¹ The vertical elevation of the monuments, which echo the thrust of the Gothic vault, is especially evident in the drawing depicting the pyramid (Fig. 109). Here, the ascent

²⁰ Cf. Gaier (2002), p. 370.

²¹ Similarly to the Fini monument and the Ospedaletto façade, the architectural framework of the chapel transforms the architecture into a flat surface in order to better exhibit sculptures.

into heaven metaphorically symbolised by the prominence of the catafalque merges with the commemorative function of the pyramid as a symbol not only of eternity, but also of social elevation. The funerary urn on the top of the pyramid further enhances the litness of the monument and matches the height of the thermal window in the background. In this way, the elevation which characterises the pyramid is doubled and complemented by the lancet arch above it.

The interrelation between sculpture and architecture is even more perceptible in the watercolour drawings in the second version (Figs 110-112). Here, chromatic contrasts emphasise the vertical elevation of the pyramid which is set against a slab of marble, displaying allegorical personifications at the bottom and military trophies or banners with views of fortresses above them. Polychrome marbles accentuate the contrast between the pyramid and the frames of the bas-reliefs on its surface.²² The base sustaining the bust of Morosini in one drawing and the papal gifts in the other is also made of polychrome marbles and displays a bas-relief in the centre, probably alluding to the battles fought by Morosini, and his coat of arms and military trophies on the sides. Set as if within a chapel and protruding from the wall, the base is partially reminiscent of an altar: it flaunts and at the same time sacralises the bust of Morosini and the papal emblems above it.

The most prominent characteristics of the first two versions of the Santo Stefano monument are accentuated in the third version (Fig. 113). Here, the renovation of the entire nave of the church would have enabled Gaspari to further accentuate the

²² The colours of the pyramid and the frames of the bas-reliefs are inverted in the two drawings.

vertical elevation of the entire complex. Particularly interesting is the architectural framework surrounding the two pyramids which receive light from the lantern above the vault.²³ This expedient, which seems to project the pyramids into the ceiling, is partially reminiscent of the space surrounding the monuments to Giovanni Pesaro and Caterino Cornaro, which were erected respectively below a Gothic vault and the drum of an adjacent chapel.

Gaspari's designs share interesting analogies with some important seventeenth-century Venetian funerary monuments. For example, Gaspari took up the idea of the encased bronze skeletons from the Pesaro monument (Figs 36a-b) by representing a skeleton sustaining a commemorative plate in the guise of a drape below the sarcophagus in the preliminary sketch of the monument for Santo Stefano (Fig. 108). Moreover, scholars have already pointed out that the drapery set behind the bust of Morosini in the same sketch recalls Parodi's monument to the patriarch Gianfrancesco Morosini in San Nicolò da Tolentino (1678).²⁴ In addition to these monuments, there are other two typologies of funerary monuments which inspired Gaspari's drawings: wall-monuments in honour of Venetian commanders; and monuments to cardinals and Roman popes. By combining these two genres in one, Gaspari's designs both commemorate Morosini as a military commander and extol the sacrality of the ducal magistracy.

The references to classical and Roman antiquity as they were displayed in the monuments in honour of Venetian commanders influenced the metaphorical

²³ As noted by Gaier (2002), p. 371.

²⁴ Conticelli (1999), p. 140; Gaier (2002), p. 357.

elevation of the status of Morosini's persona almost to an absolute ruler. The obelisk and the pyramid as symbols of glory are reminiscent of the Roman legacy and feature in the monument to Captain Alvise Mocenigo (Fig. 68). The commemorative function of bas-reliefs depicting fortresses and battles, which are represented in Gaspari's projects, also had a long-standing tradition in funerary monuments to Venetian captains. Notable examples, in addition to the bas-reliefs of battles in the Mocenigo monument (Fig. 68), are the bas-reliefs of fortresses on the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio (Fig. 75). Furthermore, the military trophies on the sides of Morosini's portrait bust are also worthy of attention (Fig. 111) and the bent slave sustaining the sarcophagus in the first version of the Santo Stefano monument (Fig. 108).²⁵ Whilst military trophies are a common feature in funerary monuments to Venetian captains – most notably the Cornaro and the Barbaro monuments (Figs 65, 75) – we have already seen that the slaves fulfil an important structural and symbolic function.²⁶

The tombs of Roman popes and prelates, another source of inspiration for Gaspari's drawings, also have fascinating features in common with the Santo Stefano monuments. The pyramid which is depicted in the second version of the monuments in Santo Stefano (Figs 110-112) recalls the pyramidal slabs of variegated marble set above the tombs of Agostino and Sigismondo Chigi in Santa Maria del Popolo in

²⁵ The combination of the bent slave sustaining the sarcophagus and the military trophies on the right is vaguely reminiscent of the Cornaro monument (Fig. 65).

²⁶ As demonstrated in my analysis of the monument to Giovanni Pesaro in Chapter Two, Section 3, and the monument to Caterino Cornaro in Chapter Three.

Rome (Fig. 117).²⁷ In addition, the triangulation between the portrait bust and the allegorical personifications on the lower sides and the pyramid on the top shares analogies with tomb monuments to seventeenth-century popes or cardinals. An influential monument was that commemorating Pope Urban VIII in Saint Peter's in the Vatican (1627-47), where the pope is enthroned on a tall pedestal raised above the sarcophagus which is flanked by the personifications of *Caritas* and *Iustitia* (Fig. 49). Equally important is the monument to the Roman prelate Agostino Favoriti in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome (1684, Fig. 118). Here, the shape of a pyramid enclosed within the chapel is mirrored by the triangular composition formed by the prelate kneeling on a *prie-dieu* and the personifications of *Fides* and *Fortitudo*. An analogous composition characterises the monuments to Venetian cardinals to be found in Rome, such as the tombs of Cristoforo Widmann (d. 1660) or Marcantonio Bragadin (d. 1658), both in San Marco, Rome, where the portrait busts of the cardinals are set against a drape which is enclosed in a niche.²⁸

Compositionally inspired by the structure of the aforementioned monuments, Gaspari's drawings accentuated the importance and visibility of Morosini's portrait bust and the papal gifts he received. On the one hand, the prominence given to the bust portraying Morosini as a naval captain (Fig. 111) recalls the metaphorical elevation of Venetian commanders to the rank of Christian soldiers. Morosini had already been a naval captain twice, in 1657 and in 1667, and was assigned this

²⁷ On the importance of this monument, cf. Conticelli (1999), p. 139, note 33. Stylistically close to the pyramids of the Chigi Chapel is Giulio Romano's (attributed to) monument to Lavinia Thiene in the cathedral of Vicenza (1549).

²⁸ For these monuments, see Arne Karsten, 'Die Gleichschaltung der Eminenzen? Venezianische Kardinalsgrabmäler im Rom des 17. Und 18. Jahrhunderts', in Hengerer (2005), pp. 241-42.

prestigious post for a third time after his election to the dogate in 1688.²⁹ On the other hand, the metaphorical elevation of Morosini to a Christian soldier is indirectly recalled in the drawing representing the papal gifts (Fig. 112). Here, the display of the *pileus* and the rapier emphasises the celebration of Morosini as a doge by exhibiting the insignia he received in recognition of his services to Christendom. Especially the *pileus* recalled the legendary sword Pope Alexander III offered to Doge Sebastiano Ziani in 1176 as a symbol of justice.³⁰ Thus, a simultaneous allusion to Morosini's military and political offices was also imbued with an important politico-theological message. The religious implications inherent in Venice's conflict against the Ottomans for the sake of Christianity merged with the liturgical prerogatives which were associated with the doge's magistracy.

The intersection of politics with religion also characterises Gaspari's third design for the Santo Stefano monuments (Fig. 113). In comparison to the previous versions, here the bust of Morosini and the papal gifts stand out in front of the pyramids with greater emphasis. The plinths at the base of the pyramids are narrower, and the allegorical figures which overcrowded the space in the previous drawings have been removed. As a result, both the bust and the papal gifts receive more prominence alongside military trophies and the personifications of *Death* and *Time*. Furthermore, the consecration of Morosini and his family is magnified by the representation of his coat of arms with a crown above. Displayed above the upper cornice, the coat of

²⁹ Da Mosto (2003), pp. 427-28, 431. Matteo Casini recalls that this event triggered a diatribe among patricians because it was considered deplorable that both the highest military and political offices could be assigned to the same person. See Casini (2001), p. 235.

³⁰ On the significance of the sword as a gift in honour of the doges, cf. Muir (1981), p. 114.

arms creates a visual link between the pyramids at the bottom and the figure of Christ above the pediment of the altar of San Nicolò da Tolentino. Christ is depicted with a cross and a globe supported by a putto as the *salvator mundi*. The allusion to Christ as a redeemer is metaphorically equated with the “sacrifice” of Morosini, who contributed to the defence of Venice in the long war against the Ottomans. The combination of the two monuments with the figure of Christ therefore suggests that Morosini’s military campaign was supported by faith, thereby assimilating the sacrifice of Christian soldiers to the sacrifice of Christ as the redeemer of sin.

Similar observations can be drawn from an iconographic analysis of the allegorical personifications depicted in the drawings. Some of these figures exemplify the qualities which the patricians regarded as the fundamentals of the Venetian civic ethos, while others visualise the attributes which qualified Morosini both as a good ruler and as a valiant commander. The achievements of Morosini and the greatness of Venice are, therefore, interconnected, and are exemplified in the drawings as two complementary halves of the same whole: Morosini’s military campaign is sustained by his personal virtues and determination in preserving the state, whereas the greatness of Venice is both the cause and effect of Morosini’s commitment in serving the Republic.

In one of the watercolour drawings (Fig. 111), the personification of *History* standing on the left of the portrait bust is holding a book in her right hand and points at the bas-reliefs on the pyramid with a rod.³¹ She is accompanied by the

³¹ The personifications shown in this project have been identified by Conticelli (1999), p. 141.

personification of *War* lifting a helmet in her hands, and by a boy carrying a torch. On the right, the woman in the background wearing a cuirass represents *Love for the Homeland*, whose right hand points to the banner above depicting a fortress. In the foreground, a woman leaning on a broken column represents *Safety* who is holding a sprig of oak in her left hand and handing a sword with her right hand to the bust of Morosini. Displayed in the foreground, these personifications of *War* and *Safety* remind the beholder that recourse to arms is indispensable in order to protect Venice and its dominions from its enemies. Despite being generally discouraged, war was an essential precondition for the peace that inevitably arose from it and was to be waged not as consequence of personal ambitions but with the desire to serve the state.³² Represented amid these personifications, the bust of Morosini thus evokes the ideal of the “perfect” captain whose sacrifice to serve the state is nurtured by supreme and uncorrupted values.³³

Especially effective in enhancing the rhetorical impact of the drawing is the personification of *History*. Just as great historical events are the result of those who performed them, so too the actions of Morosini which are exemplified in the monument are recorded for posterity as a perpetual form of gratitude, as the author of an oration in honour of the doge observed.³⁴ Moreover, by glancing at Morosini’s

³² Contarini (1591), p. 8; Paolo Paruta, *Discorsi politici di Paolo Paruta, nobile veneziano cavaliere e procurator di S. Marco, nei quali si considerano diversi fatti illustri e memorabili di principi e di repubbliche antiche e moderne*, vol. 2 (Milano: Nicolò Bettoni, 1822), p. 133.

³³ See Trevisan (1673), *passim*, esp. pp. 10-13 and 24.

³⁴ *Orazione detta in lode dell'Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signor Capitan General Francesco Morosini, Cavalier e Procurator di San Marco nell'acquisto di Napoli di Romania* (Venezia: Alvise Pavin, 1686), pp. 18-19: ‘Non v’è altri, che la sola Istoria, che possa con i sudori di molti anni registrare mediocrementemente tutto ciò, che la Vostra gran’anima si è degnata di far comparire al mondo per esempio, e per invidia di tutte l’età. Questa sola pigliandosi l’incombenza di seguire colla penna le vostre pubbliche azioni darà

portrait bust, the personification of *History* evokes the power of portraits in revivifying the events that history has recorded. Like the portraits printed in the illustrated biographies of illustrious men, the bust evokes the virtues of Morosini which are thus materialised in his effigy as a durable form of commemoration.³⁵ An ekphrasis of the bust of Morosini is provided by the Jesuit Francesco Ercolani; in it, the commemorative function of the effigy is illustrated by resorting to the *topos* of the living image:

Whose portrait bust is the breathing bronze standing there, which was commissioned by the senate? Who is that god of battles who is surrounded by the hanging trophies of victorious battlefields and defeated arms, banners, *code*, and deplumed arrows? What merit, what exceptional pride! I see your immortal name inscribed on the base [...]. Yours is the bronze that represents you as a commander, revealing your soul to us through the cast features of your face! Yours is this eternal trophy of defeated time and trumped oblivion! But should I reflect more on the effigy or on the everlasting praise that is inscribed in it? For now and forever, let Venetians and foreigners read these eternal, indelible words, here, where the Republic declares herself indebted to you; here, where she celebrates your fame with new adornments, calling you Peloponnesiacus on account of your victories! What an illustrious name, which was not usurped through ambition, but earned through virtue! A name which had already been written by the valour of your sword, then transposed into bronze by the authoritative pen of that hand that rules both sea and earth.³⁶

materia da leggere all'ammiratrice Posterità su volumi, ne' quali saran forse mancate le parole all'opere, non l'opere alle parole. Gli annali di questo secolo anderan pieni del vostro nome, ed averan che fare in portare le adeguate notizie delle vostre imprese al mondo venturo'.

³⁵ On this interpretation of the portraits, see Casini (2004), pp. 34 and 147.

³⁶ Francesco Ercolani, *Il guerriero in comparsa*, in id., *Orazioni del padre Francesco Ercolani della Compagnia di Gesù* (Venezia: Andrea Poletti, 1698, first published 1693), pp. 131-33: 'Che simulacro è quello spirante

On the left of the drawing with the papal gifts (Fig. 112), two figures point to the bas-reliefs on the pyramid depicting battles and fortresses. The one in the foreground is the personification of *Christian Faith* as shown by her attributes: a papal tiara, a chalice, a book and a smaller cross in her left hand. The other figure in the background, a man with a long beard, a crown and a cloak over his naked shoulders, represents *Merit*. On the right, the woman in the background holding a sword and carrying a scale is no doubt the personification of *Justice*. She is raising her sword with a flourish towards the military trophies displaying the Ottoman Crescent, while her garments are gently fluttering as if they were swelling out in the impetus of an imminent battle. Alongside *Justice*, another woman accompanied by three children represents the personification of *Charity*.³⁷

The personification of *Merit*, by pointing to the battle shown on the pyramid while glimpsing at the allegory of *Faith*, suggests that Morosini deserved to be immortalised as a hero because his military campaign against Venice's enemies was underpinned by religious zeal.³⁸ The visual exemplification of this concept in a

in bronzo, che colà sorge, per ordine del Senato? Che nume è quello delle battaglie, a cui pendono intorno le spoglie de' campi vinti, e degl'eserciti sbaragliati, barbare insegne, code, e saette spennate? O pregio, o vanto singolarissimo! Vedo sì scritto alla base il Vostro nome immortale. Vostra è l'immagine eterna, e perciò eterna in essa la vostra Gloria [...]. Vostro è quel bronzo, che in atto di guerriero vi rappresenta; e nelle fuse linee del vostro volto ci fa veder l'aspetto del vostro cuore. Vostro è questo trofeo perpetuo degl'anni vinti, e dell'oblio trionfato. Ma dovrò più riflettere al simulacro, o al durabile elogio, che vi s'incise? Legga per ogni età, legga il dimestico, e lo straniero le gloriose note indelebili; qui dove la Repubblica debitrice vi si professa; qui dove adorna di nuovi fregi la vostra fama; e dalle vostre vittorie vi chiama PELOPPONESIACO. O' nome illustre, non usurpato dall'ambizione; ma guadagnatovi dalla Virtù! Nome già scritto dal valore della vostra spada; e poi trascritto in bronzo dalla penna autorevole di quella mano, che regge il Mare, e la Terra!

³⁷ For these personifications, see Conticelli (1999), p. 141.

³⁸ Morosini's religious zeal and devotion to the Republic were largely acknowledged in the eulogies. See for example Cristoforo Ivanovich, 'Alla galea generalizia, spedita a Francesco Morosini Capitan

monument was not a novelty because it was already a cornerstone of Venetian celebratory rhetoric. As scholars of the Republic explained, faith was the virtue which spurred on the soul of those fighting against Venice's enemies for the defence of Christianity.³⁹ The personification of *Christian Faith* has pride of place in the funerary monuments in honour of Venetian commanders who had perished on the battlefield, such as those in honour of Marcantonio Bragadin or Girolamo Garzoni (Figs 119-120). In these monuments, the allegorical figure representing *Faith* not only commemorated one of the deceased's personal virtues, but also assumed an ethical and civic function in implying that this sacrifice in the name of the state's preservation would be spiritually rewarded with triumph in heaven.⁴⁰ Although the personification of *Faith* depicted in Gaspari's drawing evokes the iconography of these monuments, its message is quite different. Morosini never fell on the battlefield and his military campaign during the Cretan War was severely criticised by patricians who were hostile to his military strategies.⁴¹ Gaspari's drawing rather accentuated the propitiatory aspects of the rhetoric of sacrifice, so much so that Morosini metaphorically incorporated the qualities of God's chosen commander that are necessary to defend Venice.⁴² It is therefore clear that the personification of *Faith*

Generale contro a i 'Turchi', in *Poesie di Cristoforo Ivanovich* (1675, hereafter referred to as Ivanovich, 1675c), p. 29: 'Dorato Abete, a valicar l'Egeo / Ti tragge alta cagion, giusta ragione, / Della Fè, della Patria il zel t'appone, / Sul'onde a trionfar legno Pangeo'.

³⁹ A cogent explanation of this concept is provided in the works by Paolo Paruta. See Paruta (1579), p. 314; Paolo Paruta, 'Orazione funebre in laude de' morti nella vittoriosa battaglia contra a' 'Turchi, seguita alle Curzolari l'anno MDLXXI, alli VII d'ottobre', in *Opere politiche di Paolo Paruta*, ed. Cirillo Monzani, vol. 1 (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1852), p. 30. On this topic, see also Tagliaferro (2003-04), pp. 173-74.

⁴⁰ Trevisan (1673), *passim*, esp. pp. 13, 19; Paruta (1822), p. 112; Paruta (1852), p. 30. Cf. also Raines (2006), pp. 351-61.

⁴¹ Raines (2006), pp. 322-30.

⁴² As was noted in the panegyrics written in honour of Morosini. See for instance the *Orazione detta in*

corroborates the message of the entire drawing, that is, the exaltation of Morosini on a par with a hero. The rhetorical potency of this message is eventually substantiated by the display of the papal gifts he received. Their visual connection with the personifications of *Merit* and *Christian Faith* suggested that Morosini's deserving achievements culminated in his election as a doge and in the papal bestowal of gifts in recognition of his services.⁴³

The visual analysis of the Santo Stefano projects in this section has shed light on the attributes which celebrate Morosini as a perfect commander. Despite the fact that the plan to erect the monuments was never accomplished, there is no doubt that their iconography reflected those elements that were emphasised by the celebratory rhetoric to such an extent that they had become part of the image Morosini had created for himself.⁴⁴ A confirmation is provided by surviving works such as the portrait bust commissioned by the senate, or Morosini's tomb in Santo Stefano (Figs 115-116). In these works as much as in Gaspari's drawings, the evocative power of the portrait and the exhibition of the papal gifts accentuated the military and sacral qualities which were ascribed to Morosini.⁴⁵ Yet, whereas in Gaspari's designs the

lode dell'Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signor Capitan General Francesco Morosini (1686), pp. 54-55: 'Se la vostra virtù merita i trionfi, e se voi siete stato destinato da Iddio per ingrandire insieme la vostra Repubblica, e la sua religione, era necessario, che possedeste in voi il numero di tutte quelle qualità eroiche, che ricercano un'amore [sic!], ed una beneficenza così efficace dal Cielo'.

⁴³ Ercolani (1698), pp. 88-89; Giovanni Antonio Carrara Bora, *Il Morosini ovvero la Morea conquistata dall'armi della Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia* (Trevigi: Curti, 1713), p. 375: 'Adriatico Marte hai visto, hai vinto / Del regnante tiranno il più bel regno. / Contentati per or, se'l crine hai cinto / Solo di greco allor; tien questo in segno / Del tuo temuto bellicoso istinto. / Tra pochi dì, de' suoi doveri in pegno, / Al merto tuo riconoscenza eguale, / La patria t'alzerà sul tron ducale'.

⁴⁴ Scholars have already dealt with the reasons why Gaspari's projects remained unexecuted. For a summary, see Conticelli (1999), pp. 130-31.

⁴⁵ The same is true for the *oselle* remembering the portrait bust of Morosini and the sword given as a gift by the pope.

emphasis on aggrandisement cleared Morosini from the stigma of shame for having ceded Candia to the Turks in 1669, the portrait bust and especially the honorific arch in the Doge's Palace were meant as a memorial to Morosini's military campaigns.⁴⁶

Gaspari's genius consisted in creating a novel design, yet at the same time maintaining a sense of continuity with the tradition of Venetian funerary monuments. By placing the bust and the papal gifts at the centre of the composition and the allegorical personifications around them, Gaspari created a structure composed of different units, each aggrandising the status of Morosini both as a doge and as a commander. As a result of this structure, the designs went beyond the conventional structure of funerary monuments which displayed the sarcophagus as the central feature of the composition. Not surprisingly, the first design (Fig. 108), which was structured on the sarcophagus as a base sustaining the bust, was discarded in favour of drawings proposing the solution with the pyramids (Figs 110-112).

Equally important are the panegyrics in honour of Morosini, which amplified the rhetorical impact of these projects by extolling the qualities which are embodied by the allegorical personifications depicted in the drawings. The authors of these texts, in fact, resorted to metaphors akin to those invoked by the admirers of the monuments to Giovanni Pesaro and Caterino Cornaro by describing imaginative monuments in honour of Morosini and by thus persuading the viewer to imitate his actions.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Cf. Conticelli (1999), pp. 168, 175, 177.

⁴⁷ *Orazione detta in lode dell'Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signor Capitan General Francesco Morosini* (1686), pp. 60-62: 'Noi vi promettiamo, che subito giunti nelle nostre patria ridonateci da voi, formeremmo di esse tempi alla vostra fama, e tutta la Grecia sarà un'eterno [sic!] trofeo del vostro valore. Se sorgerà di

2. The Reconstruction of San Vidal

In the 1690s Gaspari was involved in the reconstruction of San Vidal, a church founded in the eleventh century which was damaged by an earthquake in April 1688. Although Morosini never referred to this project in his will, the evidence suggests that the promoters of the reconstruction were probably Lorenzo Morosini, the brother of the doge, and Teodoro Tesseri, the parish priest of San Vidal from 1684 to 1718.⁴⁸ Gaspari's designs have been generally dated between 1690 and 1700, although a new chronological reconstruction supported by archival evidence and iconographical analysis of the drawings has backdated the plan to renovate the church to late 1685.⁴⁹ Consequently, Gaspari would have worked on the San Vidal project in two different stages: first in 1685, when he executed the first project proposal, and subsequently in 1688 after Morosini's election to the dogate.⁵⁰ The rebuilding of the church commenced in late 1699 and continued into the 1730s, when the monuments of Doge Carlo Contarini (d. 1656), the dogaressa Paolina Loredan (d. 1660) and their son Andrea (d. 1675) were incorporated into a neoclassical façade devised by Andrea Tirali (Fig. 121).⁵¹

nuovo Corinto; i primi bronzi si fonderanno per innalzarvi colossi. Se ritornerà al primo fiore Atene, suderanno gli scalpelli di Praxitele per raccomandare alla durezza de' marmi la vostra effigie, ed il vostro nome. Si leggerà questi su le mura d'ogni città, e vi starà per nume tutelare della libertà [...]. Di voi parleranno le accademia della Grecia, e le vostre imprese saranno i veri argomenti di una nazione, che non averà più materia di trovar favole, superata la forza della sua invenzione dalla vera grandezza delle vostre imprese [...]. L'abbondanza [...] sarà frutto del vostro valore [...]. La vostra fama fatta l'unico ogetto de' discorsi della Grecia sarà dall'uno all'altro tramandata infino all'ultima posterità'.

⁴⁸ Favilla and Rugolo (2004-05), pp. 90 and 109. See however also pp. 87-114 for a broader description of the patronage of the San Vidal projects.

⁴⁹ Conticelli (1999), p. 150; Favilla and Rugolo (2004-05), pp. 89-90, 109.

⁵⁰ Conticelli (1999), p. 150; Favilla and Rugolo (2004-05), p. 91. The order of execution of the second and third sets of drawings (Figs 127, 129) has been inverted by Gaier (2002), pp. 363-65.

⁵¹ The most exhaustive chronological reconstructions and iconographical analyses of San Vidal, including the involvement of Andrea Tirali and a complete bibliography, are the studies by Conticelli

Gaspari devised three versions of the San Vidal designs making a total of fourteen drawings. Eight of them display the elevation of the façade (Figs 122-131), while the other six show the centralised and longitudinal plans for the nave (Figs 132-133).⁵² The design and the iconography of the San Vidal projects metaphorically visualise the achievements of Morosini on the church façade. A visual analysis of these projects will allow us to elucidate the architectural sources which inspired their design. These are various and include ephemeral architecture, the influence of Mannerism and Sebastiano Serlio's theory of rustication and variety.

Gaspari's designs have long been construed as episodes of architectural extravaganza with the sole purpose of transforming the façade into an honorific monument to Morosini.⁵³ Although this analysis is not completely unsubstantiated, I shall argue that the importance of these drawings lies elsewhere. This section will demonstrate that the façade's unusual architecture visually represents the essential traits of Morosini's personality and military campaign: heroism, sovereign power and ultimately Venice's political and religious authority. Many architectural features of these projects are unique to Gaspari and are unprecedented in the Venetian setting. The following three sections will investigate the architectural sources which are relevant to Gaspari's projects and analyse their thematic content in relation to the quintessential aspects of Morosini's political and military career: expansionism, the

(1999), pp. 144-62; Gaier (2002), pp. 353-77; Favilla and Rugolo (2004-05), pp. 87-114.

⁵² The illustrations provided here are the main five drawings for the elevation of the façade and two for the ground plan, which will be analysed in this chapter. The remaining seven drawings, which are not discussed in the main text, are sketches. For a full list of the drawings, see Conticelli (1999), pp. 151 and 158.

⁵³ A thesis which was first proposed by Bassi (1963), p. 71, and has been subsequently advocated by Gaier (2002), pp. 353-77.

state's preservation and imperialistic ambition.

One of the most recognisable features of the façade is rustication. With the exception of the third version of these designs, which will be analysed later, rustication covers almost the entire surface of the façade and is interrupted only by the ornaments which exclusively allude to the military achievements of Morosini (Figs 122-127). The way in which rustication is used in these projects does not find equivalents either in the Veneto or beyond it. Although architects had already designed rusticated churches, rustication was most common only in units of a building performing a structural or decorative function (Figs 134-135). In contrast, in Gaspari's works rustication becomes a visual metaphor for the qualities which were ascribed to Morosini. This metaphorical function assigned to rustication was a novelty in Venice and finds precursors in architectural contexts apparently far from both Gaspari and ecclesiastical buildings: Giulio Romano, Mannerism and, most importantly, Sebastiano Serlio. Before analysing Gaspari's designs in the latter two parts, I will first focus on Serlio and on the way in which the use of rustication theorised in his architectural treatise can be construed as one of the most important sources that can help us to comprehend the rhetorical significance of Gaspari's drawings.

3. Sebastiano Serlio and the Theory of Rustication

In the *Libro quarto* of his *Trattato di Architettura*, Sebastiano Serlio described a type of masonry made from stone blocks which had been used since the ancient Romans

especially in fortifications, walls, portals or other similar buildings.⁵⁴ Relying on Vitruvius, who was the first to refer to the coarse finish of some ancient buildings, though he did not provide a comprehensive analysis of the rustic order, Serlio enunciated the salient points of rustication in relation to the four normative orders.⁵⁵ In his analysis, Serlio contended that the uneven and rough character of rustication was a visual metaphor for the emotional and psychological characters of power and strength. This characteristic of rustication, which had been mentioned only by Alberti before the publication of the *Libro quarto*, had been exploited by architects from the sixteenth century onwards to metaphorically emphasise either the “bucolic” or “rustic” characters of buildings.⁵⁶

The most suggestive outcome of Serlio’s analysis is an interpretation of rustication in connection with the notions of *non finito*, hybridization and naturalism. Firstly, Serlio demonstrated that the irregular aspect of rustication best suits the buildings where solidity is a key feature, such as fortresses, ports, prisons, loggias, or porticos among others.⁵⁷ By aligning rustication with the rusticity of the Tuscan order, Serlio observed that no civilizations other than the Tuscans rusticated ancient and contemporary buildings in Florence.⁵⁸ Secondly, as architects are eager to seek

⁵⁴ Serlio (1537), *passim*, esp. pp. 5r-v and 13v.

⁵⁵ Ibid.; on Vitruvius, see *I dieci libri* (1567), pp. 192-201.

⁵⁶ Alberti (1966), pp. 350 and 538. Serlio’s “psychological” reading of rustication has been noted by scholarship. See Giulio Carlo Argan, ‘Sebastiano Serlio’, *L’arte* 35 (1932), pp. 183-99; Gombrich (1984), pp. 17-21; Gombrich (1986), pp. 161-70; Amedeo Belluzzi, ‘L’opera rustica nell’architettura italiana del primo Cinquecento’, in Fagiolo (1981), pp. 98-136; Morolli (1981), pp. 55-97; Riccardo Pacciani, ‘Aspetti dell’imitazione della natura fra Quattrocento e Cinquecento’, in Fagiolo (1981), p. 46; Payne (1999), pp. 113-43, esp. pp. 128-29.

⁵⁷ Serlio (1537), p. 5r-v.

⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 5r-v: ‘[...] l’opera Thoscana, al parer mio, conviene alle fortezze: come sarebbe a porte dicittà [sic!], a rocche, a castelli, a luoghi da conservar thesori, o dove si tengon le munitioni, et le artiglierie, al le prigionj, a porti di mare, et altri simili per l’uso de la guerra [...]. Nientedimeno, per

novelty and surprise the viewer, Serlio defended the mixing of rustication with the normative orders, although he adds that architects should always be careful in observing decorum and rules.⁵⁹ Finally, as a result of its intrinsic characteristics, rustication evokes the dualism between architecture and nature. Irregular and unfinished surfaces are a metaphor for works of nature, whereas plain and finished elements symbolise the refinements of human art. The blending of rustication with the polished parts of a building pleases the beholder, as it evokes the manual mastery of architects in opposition to the *non finito* as a product of nature.⁶⁰

The dialectic between architecture and nature implicit in Serlio's remarks renders rustication adaptable to a vast range of buildings. To substantiate his arguments, Serlio sets out many examples in his treatise which illustrate the notions of versatility and hybridization which he discusses at the beginning of the *Libro quarto*. This discussion reaches its climax when Serlio justifies his ideas in consideration of the

esser veramente l'opera Thoscana la più rozza, et meno ornata di tutte l'altre, a me pare, che la rustica convenga più, et sia più conforme a la Thoscana, che ad alcun'altra. Il che manifestamente si comprende essere stato osservato da i Thoscani così dentro ne la maggior, et principal città loro; che è Firenze, come fuori per le ville, in tanti, et così belli edificij, et ricche fabbriche, our fatte d'opra rustica, quante si possono veder nel rimanente de la christianità'.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 5v: '[...] dimostrerò in diversi modi di tale opere, come si possa far porte di città, et di fortezze; et anco per luoghi publici, et privati, Facciate, Loggie, Portichi, Finestre, Nicchi, Ponti, Acquedutti, et altri diversi ornamenti [...]. Si potrà ben anco, non ci discostando da quello, che han fatto gliantichi, mischiare, et comunicare quell'opera rustica con la Dorica, et con la Ionica anchora, et talhor la corinthia, a voglia di chi volesse contentar un suo capriccio. Il che però più tosto si potrebbe dir, che fosse di licentia, che di ragione perciò che l'Architetto ha da proceder molto modesto, et ritenuto, massimamente ne l'opere publiche, et di gravità, dove è lodevole servir il decoro'.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 13v: 'È stato parer de li antiqui Romani mescolar col rustico non pur il Dorico, ma lo Ionico, et Corinthio anchora, il perché non sarà errore se d'una sola maniera, si farà una mescolanza, rappresentando in questa, parte opera di natura, et parte opera di artefice, perciò che le colonne fasciate da le pietre rustiche, et ancho l'architrave fregio interrotti da li cunei, dimostrano opera di natura, ma li capitelli; et parte de le colonne et così la cornice col frontespicio rappresentano opera di mano, laqual mistura, per mio avviso, è molto grata all'occhio et rappresenta in se gran fortezza. Per tanto io giudicarei convenirsi più questa ad una fortezza, che alcun'altra. Nondimeno in qualunque loco nel edificio rustico sarà posta, sempre tornerà bene [...]'.

aesthetic seduction which results from novelty and licence. Because unusual things pique the curiosity of the viewer, rusticated columns which have originally been devised for a fortress can also be included in a portal of a villa or in festive apparatuses.⁶¹

The traits of rustication enunciated in the *Libro quarto* are elaborated further in the *Libro settimo* and *Extraordinario*.⁶² Here, portals of conventional orders mixed with rustication are conspicuous for their polymorphic and multifunctional character. As Serlio demonstrates, in these portals the potentialities of rustication go beyond decoration. Emancipated from a merely decorative function, rustication becomes a stylistic and expressive cipher which accomplishes plastic or structural functions. Dressed with rustication, the portals therefore lose their primary significance of gateways and become suitable for new uses or purposes.⁶³

The more rustication blends with the architectural elements of the normative orders, the more buildings augment their eclectic appeal as a result of hybridization. This is most evident in buildings such as temples or churches where rustication contrasts with a design inspired by classical architecture. The description of a temple in the *Libro quarto* provides an intriguing illustration of this point (Fig. 136). A triumphal arch composed of four bands of paired Corinthian columns and surmounted by a dome rises from a ponderous rustic base incorporating the main portal and four lateral entries. The solid rustication, which also supports a balustrade

⁶¹ Ibid., *passim*, esp. pp. 27v, 57v and 60v.

⁶² Sebastiano Serlio, *Il settimo libro d'Architettura di Sebastiano Serlio Bolognese* (Francofurti ad Moenum: Andrea Wechel, 1545), esp. pp. 92-93; Serlio (1551), *passim*.

⁶³ Serlio (1551), *passim*, see esp. the portals no. VI, XIX, XXVIII, XXX.

flanked by two obelisks, is the source of major visual and structural impact. As Serlio explained in a sentence of pellucid immediacy, ‘unusual things, provided that they conform with rules and proportions, will be not only praised, but admired as well’.⁶⁴ It is little surprise, then, if the structure of this temple is adapted to as a design for a villa which is described in the Munich manuscript of the *Libro sesto* (Fig. 137).⁶⁵ Relying on the principle of hybridization, the almost indiscriminate and creative combination of elements derived from ancient or modern buildings characterises the villas or the churches described by Serlio, with results that are sometimes interchangeable and arbitrary.⁶⁶

As Manfredo Tafuri observed, Serlio’s notion of rustication represented the first attempt to place architectural theory in relation to aesthetic implications which had already been explored by naturalism and animism.⁶⁷ The rough nature of rustication as a metaphor for an emotion or temperament evoking harshness or strength was new within architecture.⁶⁸ This perception of rustication related to the Aristotelian theory of the imitation of human emotions and to the conclusions of classical rhetoricians, who had already noted the impression of force obtainable from the absence of finishing.⁶⁹ The stimulation of an emotion through rustication renegotiates the correlation between signifier and signified elements in architecture.

⁶⁴ Serlio (1536), p. 57v: ‘Quelle cose, che secondo il comun’uso si fanno, anchora che con tutte le proportioni, et misure sian fatte, sono lodate sì, ma ammirate non giamai; Ma quelle cose che sono inusitate, se saran fatte con qualche ragione, et ben proportionate, saranno non solamente lodate da la maggior parte, ma ammirate anchora’.

⁶⁵ Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (hereafter cited as BSM), MS Icon. 189, fol. 33r-v. A modern reprint of the manuscript is in Serlio (1994), p. 103.

⁶⁶ Arnaldo Bruchi, ‘Le chiese del Serlio’, in Thoenes (1989), p. 183. See also Payne (1999), pp. 131-33.

⁶⁷ Tafuri (1966), pp. 44-46; Tafuri (1968), pp. 8-13.

⁶⁸ Gombrich (1984), p. 69.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 69; Pacciani (1981), p. 46; Payne (1999), pp. 128, 135-36.

On account of these principles, architectural orders not only correspond to spatial or plastic units, but are also endowed with a metaphorical function in relation to the temperament of the beneficiary of buildings.⁷⁰ In the manuscript of the *Libro ottavo*, the description of the main doorway of a Roman camp in Dacia provides the most original contribution in support of these arguments. As Serlio explains, a Corinthian doorway mixed with rustication metaphorically indicates both the mercifulness of Emperor Trajan in forgiving and his severity in punishing.⁷¹ Moreover, the encampment had two gateways presenting different styles. The one in the rustic style was on the side where the barbarians were more ferocious, whereas the one in the Corinthian order was on the side facing Italy.⁷²

Serlio's arguments on the subject of rustication delineated a theoretical framework wherein architecture was imbued with metaphorical qualities with an unprecedented and extraordinary originality. The circulation of the *Trattato di Architettura* throughout the sixteenth century determined the dissemination of Serlio's ideas in the *modus operandi* of architects of the Mannerism and beyond. Was there a connection between Serlio and Gaspari? To answer this question, it is opportune to return to Gaspari's designs themselves. By focusing on his drawings in relation to Serlio's ideas, I will unveil some unexpected iconographical and architectural precedents, thereby demonstrating the influence of both of Mannerist architectural theory and Baldassarre Longhena's example.

⁷⁰ Argan (1932), p. 190; Payne (1999), p. 136.

⁷¹ BSM, MS Icon. 190, fol. 17r, transcribed in Serlio (1994), p. 545.

⁷² BSM, MS Icon. 190, ff. 19v-20r, transcribed in Serlio (1994), p. 549. On these passages from the *Libro ottavo*, see Gombrich (1984), p. 69, and Gombrich (1986), p. 165.

4. The Iconography of Antonio Gaspari's First Design for San Vidal

The iconography of Gaspari's initial design for the San Vidal façade is partially reminiscent of the Santo Stefano monuments and centres around the prominent position of Morosini's statue at the centre of the façade above the portal (Fig. 122). Four rusticated pilasters divide the façade in three vertical compartments. On the lateral wings, there are tablets depicting terrestrial and maritime battles and a banner displaying the Ottoman Crescent. In the niches between the pilasters, two obelisks represent bas-reliefs of the battles in which Morosini had been involved.⁷³ At the centre, a rusticated Ionic portal supports a base with the standing figure of Morosini in the uniform of an admiral, holding the baton of command and wearing ermine and the *corno ducale*. The statue dominates an anguished Turk and a slave, both of whom are enchained on the lateral volutes of the base. In the uppermost register, the trabeation with rusticated modillions and frieze-like military trophies supports the recumbent personification of *Christian Faith* on the left and the pediment at the centre. On the apex of the pediment bearing the coat of arms of the Morosini family, an acroterium supports the figure of Saint Vidal holding a standard.

In this drawing, the impression of force which derives from rustication liaises with the other components of the façade in achieving a thoroughly powerful effect. Many unusual features find a contextualisation in Serlio and in the influence he had on Mannerist architecture, in particular Giulio Romano.⁷⁴ For example, the

⁷³ The bas-reliefs are inspired by designs for the Santo Stefano monuments. See Conticelli (1999), p. 151.

⁷⁴ Conticelli noted that the rusticated pilasters of the façade are reminiscent of Giulio's 1533 design for the Porta Giulia in Mantua, although the scholar does not fully explore Serlio's influence on Giulio – and therefore on Gaspari – and nor does she investigate the connections with Mannerist

decorative use of coarse blocks of stone on the cornices and in the pediment, or the rusticated modillions in the entablature of San Vidal, parallel Serlio's rusticated portals as described in his *Libro extraordinario*.⁷⁵ Moreover, the conflict between the exterior aspect of some architectural details of San Vidal and their function is comparable to that obtained by Giulio in some of his architectural projects.⁷⁶ In addition, it has never been acknowledged that Gaspari conferred a "pictorial" treatment on some elements which are illustrated in the drawing.⁷⁷ The pictorial effect, which is obtained when a plastic element assumes – or is conceived like – a pictorial aspect, is a peculiarity of Serlio, Giulio Romano and, in general, of Mannerist architecture.⁷⁸ The identification of models or architects that mediated between Serlio and Gaspari is difficult because of the absence of documentation proving contacts Gaspari may have had outside the Veneto.⁷⁹ Nonetheless, the predilection for rustication and abstruse forms is not exclusively ascribable to Gaspari's own artistry. It calls out for the identification of a model which seems to have had a determining influence on Gaspari.

architecture which are quite evident in Gaspari's projects. See Conticelli (1999), p. 152. On Serlio's influence on Giulio Romano, see the essays edited by Ernst Gombrich in *Giulio Romano* (exhibition catalogue, Palazzo Te and Palazzo Ducale, Mantua, 1 September – 12 November 1989), ed. Ernst Gombrich et al. (Milan: Electa, 1989).

⁷⁵ Serlio (1551), *passim*, esp. the portals no. 6, 18, 23, 29.

⁷⁶ Most notably, the Palazzo Te. See Gombrich (1984), pp. 23-72.

⁷⁷ See for example the Turkish banner, which is barely compatible with the architectural structure of the façade.

⁷⁸ As demonstrated by Argan (1932), p. 192; Erwin Panofsky, *The Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1955), pp. 232-35; Paolo Carpeggiani, 'La fortuna critica di Giulio Romano architetto', in *Studi su Giulio Romano. Omaggio all'artista nel 450° della venuta a Mantova (1524-1974)* (San Benedetto Po: Accademia Polironiana, 1975), p. 24; Kurt W. Forster, 'Giulio Romano. *Fondato, fiero, sicuro, capriccioso, vario, abbondante ed universale*', *Annali di architettura* 1 (1989), p. 15. I shall return to this topic in my analysis of Gaspari's proposals for the mausoleum of the Valier family in Chapter Six.

⁷⁹ Any travel to Rome on Gaspari's part remains hypothetical, as suggested by Massimo Favilla and Ruggero Rugolo, 'La verità sul caso Gaspari', *Studi veneziani* 45 (2003), pp. 246-50.

One of the most important features of the San Vidal design is the way in which it aggrandises Morosini through a visual figuration of his main exploits. Rather than desecrating the church, the mundane celebration of Morosini is somehow sacralised, the more so as he is compared with Vidal, the soldier-saint and patron of the church. By adapting the same principle which had already been employed in Santa Maria del Giglio, the celebration in San Vidal is almost hyperbolic, and forges an image of Morosini as a Christian soldier. This especially applies to Morosini's statue above the portal (Fig. 123). By replacing the figure of a saint, the statue not only metaphorically elevates Morosini to the rank of a religious figure, but also carries a commemorative significance.⁸⁰ The statue in fact combines the Venetian tradition of life-size sculptures of naval captains with civic and commemorative monuments to commanders (Le Court's sculptures of Caterino Cornaro, Alvise Mocenigo or Antonio Barbaro, Figs 65, 68, 75).⁸¹ The iconographic continuity of this genre of sculpture confirms its efficacy in perpetuating the memory of the deceased by dint of an unsophisticated yet effective iconography.

A comparison with the monument to Captain Alvise Mocenigo in San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti is especially helpful to comprehend the way in which the aggrandisement of Morosini operated.⁸² It is in fact possible that the obelisks and posture of Morosini were inspired by the design of the Mocenigo monument, which displays similar features (Figs 68, 123). The comparison is suggestive because the

⁸⁰ The sanctification of Morosini is also fostered by the visual connection with the coat of arms which substitutes the oculus in the pediment.

⁸¹ On the statues of Barbaro and Cornaro as a model for that of Morosini, see Conticelli (1999), p. 152.

⁸² On the monument to Alvise Mocenigo, see Chapter Three, Section 1, esp. p. 127.

Mocenigo monument was antithetical to the one devised for San Vidal. The statue portraying Morosini as an admiral is “irreverent” if compared to Mocenigo, who unlike Morosini sacrificed his life to protect Candia from the Turks.⁸³ Nonetheless, it is precisely this comparison that allows us to fathom to what extent the aggrandisement of Morosini is pursued in Gaspari’s drawing.

The sense of sovereign power which permeates Gaspari’s design is redolent of Renaissance and Baroque ephemeral architecture. In temporary apparatuses, the spectacle of pageantry was intended to publicly acclaim princes or monarchs as paladins during joyous entries or in the aftermath of a military victory.⁸⁴ There are two major points of agreement between these apparatuses and the façade of San Vidal. Firstly, ephemeral architecture figuratively visualised the ideals which were being championed by rulers as part of their political propaganda. Secondly, the flamboyant design of some of these apparatuses mirrored the majestic image that rulers had of themselves. The entry of Philip II in Antwerp in 1549 provides an example which is thematically close to that of San Vidal. The organiser was Peter Coecke, a Flemish painter who had already translated Vitruvius’s treatise on architecture and Serlio’s book on the canonical architectural orders. The Antwerp humanist Cornelius Graphaeus described temporary apparatuses in a volume which was published in 1550.⁸⁵ By merging the spectacle of pageantry with the tradition of

⁸³ As Matteo Casini demonstrated, Morosini’s exploits were ridiculed in burlesque and satirical poems. See Casini (2001), pp. 235-38.

⁸⁴ On the extensive literature on Renaissance and Baroque festivals, see *‘All the world’s a stage...’ Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque*, eds Barbara Wisch and Susan Scott Munshower, 2 vols (Pennsylvania State University: Department of History of Art, 1990).

⁸⁵ Cornelius Scribonius Graphaeus, *Le triumphe d’Anvers, fait en la susception du Prince Philips, Prince D’Espaigne* (Anvers: Pierre Coeck, 1550). See also Larry Silver, ‘Paper Pageants: The Triumphs of

ancient triumphs, the framework of these designs hinged on military heroism and the defeat of Venice's enemies.⁸⁶ Set apart from Philip's II entry, yet stylistically closer to San Vidal was the *Kaiẏerpoort*, the "Caesarean gateway" devised by Donato Buoni di Pellezuoli, a former assistant of Michele Sanmicheli, as part of Antwerp's rings of walls and bastions (Fig. 138).⁸⁷ In the lower order, four rusticated Doric columns projecting from the masonry render the *Kaiẏerpoort* akin to Giulio Romano's projects for the Porta del Te in Mantua (c. 1530-36), Sanmicheli's Porta Nuova in Verona (begun c. 1532) and, most notably, the water entrance to Forte Sant'Andrea (1530s, Fig. 139).⁸⁸ The *Kaiẏerpoort* and Sant'Andrea's rustication responds to defensive needs and metaphorically recalls the strength of the Habsburgs in the former and the impregnability of Venice in the latter. Accordingly, even though San Vidal is not a fortress, the emphasis on rustication and on the depiction of battles evokes the conquest or defence of new territories which were associated with Morosini's policies. Expansionism was indisputably at the core of Morosini's military campaign. Especially in 1685, just before Gaspari's involvement in the reconstruction of San Vidal, the senate praised Morosini's first important victory during the Morean war, namely the conquest of Corone, a territory in the Peloponnesus.⁸⁹ Nonetheless, in contrast to the festive architecture celebrating the conquests of European rulers, in

Emperor Maximilian I', in Wisch and Scott Munshower, vol. 1 (1990), p. 300.

⁸⁶ Silver (1990), p. 303. See for example the Arch of the Genoese Nation, where a picture designed by Frans Floris depicted a *Victory* trampling on the corpses of defeated Turks. For this arch, see *ibid.*, p. 300.

⁸⁷ William Eisler, 'Celestial Harmonies and Hapsburg Rule: Levels of Meaning in a Triumphal Arch for Philip II in Antwerp, 1549', in Wisch and Scott, vol. 1 (1990), p. 339.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 339.

⁸⁹ See Favilla and Rugolo (2004-05), p. 90.

San Vidal the absence of visual references to Venice rendered the aggrandisement of Morosini absolute and self-referential.

The connection with ephemeral architecture is also evident in Gaspari's preparatory sketch for his first design for San Vidal (Fig. 126). In the sketch, the obelisk above the portal on the right is represented as an alternative to the column displayed on the left. It has been suggested that the helical frieze on the shaft of the column was likely to be decorated with bas-reliefs, thereby imitating a Roman triumphal column.⁹⁰ Johann Bernhard Fischer Von Erlach's arch of the *Fremden Niederleger* erected for the entry of Emperor Leopold I to Vienna in 1690 (Fig. 140) has been proposed as a direct model for the column which was depicted by Gaspari.⁹¹ Although captivating, this comparison cannot be accepted because Gaspari executed his first design for San Vidal in around 1685, five years earlier than Fischer's arch.⁹² As a matter of fact, the incorporation of a victory column in a church façade was inspired by imagery celebrating Venice on the one hand, and seventeenth-century absolutism on the other. In the Venetian context, the column as it is shown in Gaspari's drawing recalled the political and religious significance of the columns of San Marco and San Todaro facing the lagoon in the Piazzetta.⁹³ For the seventeenth-century monarchs in Europe, victory columns evoked the Labours of Hercules and consequently assumed an imperialistic significance.⁹⁴ The Herculean

⁹⁰ Conticelli (1999), p. 152. It is worth mentioning that it was a Roman custom to erect columns in the aftermath of a favourable outcome of a naval victory, as Cesare Ripa observed. See Ripa (2012), p. 607.

⁹¹ Gaier (2002), p. 360.

⁹² Favilla and Rugolo (2004-05), p. 98.

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 102-03.

⁹⁴ Cf. Elizabeth McGrath, 'Rubens's Arch of the Mint', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37

Columns stood for the pillars of the empire, as shown in the emblem of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. Charles's emblem was famous throughout Europe in the sixteenth century, and its motto 'Even further' ('Plus Ultra') summoned up an ideal of imperialistic expansion which distinguished the imagery celebrating the empire of the Hapsburgs.⁹⁵ The connection between the imperialistic significance of the Pillars of Hercules and San Vidal is not surprising because panegyrists often extolled Morosini's expansionist politics, sometimes even celebrating him on a par with a Roman emperor.⁹⁶ The Herculean Columns as a metaphor of the achievements of Morosini, who passed through indescribable ordeals to conquer the Peloponnesus, symbolically represented an ideal of absolute power which was virtually incompatible with the limits that were imposed on the power of Venetian rulers and which nonetheless characterised Morosini's politics. It should also be noted that this recourse to the Herculean myth to describe the military conquests of Morosini marked the iconographical and textual fortune of columns as a symbol of daring enterprise. For instance, by likening the achievements of Morosini with the Labours of Hercules, Cristoforo Ivanovich indirectly evoked the myth of Atlas, who

(1974), pp. 194-95.

⁹⁵ Frances Amelia Yates, 'Charles Quint et l'idée d'empire', in Jacquot and Konigson (1960), vol. 2, p. 82; McGrath (1974), p. 195.

⁹⁶ BCV, MS Gradenigo 15, *La copella politica*, 1675, fol. 141, cited in Raines (2006), p. 324 n. 127. However, this aggrandisement is sometimes pejorative, as observed by Raines (2006), pp. 323-24. In addition, see also: 'Per le imprese fortunate della Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia nella conquista gloriosa della città di Coron e Braccio di Maina sotto il comando dell'illustrissimo [...] Francesco Morosini', in BMV, MS It. Cl. IX 374 (6492), *Rime del nobil huomo Alvise Contarini fu quondam Lazaro, parte seconda*, 1687, p. 16: 'A lui da enormi regni, / che lui gli conquistò reggia s'asegni'; Giovanni Prati, 'Per la Presa di Coron nella Morea, fatta dal Serenissimo medesimo [Francesco Morosini]', in id., *Il genio divertito* (1690, hereafter referred to as Prati, 1690b), p. 86: 'Di Pelope la reggia / Rendi a la Patria in militar periglio [...] / Già risponde il Taigeto; ed a i tuoi crini / Offre balze di Lauri'; Carrara Bora (1713), p. 16: 'Saranno al fin città, provincie, e regni / D'un sì prode valor saggi condegni'.

was assisted by Hercules in sustaining the sky, in a poem in honour of Morosini.⁹⁷

This had already been invoked by the poet Giovanni Prati to describe the telamones of the Pesaro monument.⁹⁸ The political and religious overtones of the Pesaro monument should have appeared as a stimulating example to coin the symbolical image of Morosini as an intimidating and fearless conqueror.

Besides victory, columns are also associated with *Bravery*, *Constancy*, *Justice*, *Fortitude*, *Gravity* and *War*, in other words, the qualities which evoke ideals of incorruptibility, firmness and gravity.⁹⁹ The multifaceted significance of columns explains their adaptability to a wide range of purposes, from ephemeral apparatuses to the symbolism of gardens. In the nymphaeum situated above a hill dominating the Villa Aldobrandini in Frascati, two mosaic-covered columns alluded to Pope Clement VIII who was assisted by his nephew Pietro Aldobrandini in dealing with the affairs of papacy (Fig. 141).¹⁰⁰ As this example suggests, Gaspari found inspiration in an iconographical motif which by the end of the seventeenth century was part of a widespread imagery.¹⁰¹

Stylistic similarities between the design of San Vidal and seventeenth-century Roman architecture allow us to explore the relationship between Gaspari and the Roman Baroque in more detail. It cannot be ruled out that Gaspari may have acquainted himself with patrons who were supported by Roman families close to the

⁹⁷ Ivanovich (1675c), p. 29: 'Argo, che tardi? Ad inalzar Trofeo, / Vanne d'empi Arimaspi in fiero agone; / Ch'al Morosini Alcide in van s'oppone / Nel marzial cimento il Traceo Anteo'.

⁹⁸ See my analysis in Chapter Two.

⁹⁹ Columns can be the attribute of the personifications of *Bravery*, *Constancy*, *Justice*, *Fortitude*, *Gravity*, and *War*. See Ripa (2012), pp. 52, 114, 203, 229 and 240-41 respectively.

¹⁰⁰ Cesare D'Onofrio, *La villa Aldobrandini di Frascati* (Rome: Staderini Editore, 1963), pp. 123-25.

¹⁰¹ The importance of this point has also been stressed by Favilla and Rugolo (2004-05), pp. 98-105.

papacy through the mediation of Teodoro Tesseri, the parish priest of San Vidal.¹⁰²

Besides composing an ode in honour of Morosini's conquest of the Peloponnesus, Tesseri dedicated a poem to the Roman Pamphilj family (1678).¹⁰³ One should also consider the influence of Antonio Lupis, the naturalised Venetian scholar who mediated between Roman literati and Paduan and Venetian intellectuals. As a protégé of the patrician Gianfrancesco Loredan, Lupis had illustrious ties with leading figures of the patrician Gianfrancesco Loredan, Lupis had illustrious ties with leading figures such as Cristoforo Ivanovich, Giovanni Prati, Bartolomeo Dotti, Cardinal Alderano Cybo and Pietro Ottoboni, the nephew of Pope Alexander VIII.¹⁰⁴ Above all, Ottoboni was the eminent patron of the arts and founder of the Roman academy of the *Disuniti*, which published a collection of eulogies in 1688 to celebrate Morosini's victory over the Turks during the Morean war.¹⁰⁵

It is now clear that ephemeral display and probably seventeenth-century Roman architecture played at least some part in inspiring the design of San Vidal; nevertheless, the uniqueness of Gaspari's project rewards a more attentive contextualisation. The eclectic fusion of military trophies and bas-reliefs of battles seems to imply that the design of the façade was intended chiefly as a panoply of Morosini's military feats. The more Gaspari became involved in the design process,

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 105.

¹⁰³ The poems are entitled *Vexillum Peloponnesi* and *Columba Pamphilia*. See Conticelli (1999), p. 149, and Favilla and Rugolo (2004-05), p. 105.

¹⁰⁴ Antonio Lupis, *Il corriere* (Venetia: Brigna, 1680), pp. 52, 174-75, 216-17, 267-68, 417, 420-21, 439. For a profile of Lupis (1620-1700), see Fiammetta Cirilli, entry *Lupis, Antonio*, in DBI, vol. 66 (2006), pp. 615-16.

¹⁰⁵ *Applausi Poetici al valore del Serenissimo Francesco Morosino Generalissimo dell'Armi Venete assunto Doge mentre colla spada alla mano fugava l'inimico Ottomano nel Regno della Morea [...], recitati dalli Signori Accademici Disuniti [...] in Roma li 14 Giugno 1688* (Roma: Giovanni Vannacci, 1688). On this text, see Michele Maylender, *Storia delle accademie d'Italia*, vol. 2 (Trieste: Licinio Cappelli, 1927), pp. 212-13. For Pietro Ottoboni, see Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters. A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1963), pp. 164-66.

the more complex the design of the façade grew. As a result, his first design for the San Vidal façade is presented as a heterodox combination of elements which are depicted with meticulous accuracy, although the singularity of some elements is sometimes barely compatible with the religious function of a church façade. For example, a Turkish banner lies very precariously on the façade's left lateral wing as if it were extrapolated from a catafalque (Fig. 124). Moreover, the recumbent personification of *Christian Faith* is conspicuous for her left leg, which overlaps with the entablature (Fig. 125). Although this pose confers elegance on her, it unveils an unnecessary technical complexity due to the unusual location of a recumbent statue above the entablature. Likewise, her tiny yet voluptuous breast imparts a vaguely sensual appearance which is unsuitable for a church façade. Finally, in the preparatory sketch, a bombard and munitions are depicted in the guise of a frieze beneath the pediment (Fig. 126), whereas in the definitive drawing panoplies and military trophies appear in lieu of capitals above the rusticated pilasters (Figs 122-123).

It is indispensable to note that Gaspari's use of rustication in both plastic and metaphorical ways is justifiable only in light of Serlio's teaching. Yet, despite the influence of Serlio in north Italian architecture, in the Veneto the use of rustication was generally conventional and coherently enhances the impression of solidity, decorum and the rural or urban destination of buildings.¹⁰⁶ There are, however, a

¹⁰⁶ Of course there are some exceptions, most notably the Palazzo Thiene in Vicenza. For the influence of Serlio in Venetian architecture of the late Renaissance and early Baroque period, see Augusto Cavallari Murat, 'Interpretazioni dell'architettura barocca nel Veneto', *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio* (hereafter cited as *Bollettino CISA*) 4 (1962), pp.

few other buildings which were executed in the Veneto in the seventeenth century which are more interesting. In analysing these works, scholars have found continuity between the architecture of Mannerism and that of the Baroque period.¹⁰⁷ The most striking example is Bernardino Miglioranzi's Porta dei Bombardieri in Verona, the portal at the entrance of the palace of the Compagnia dei Bombardieri, a militia of artisans and merchants who were engaged in the cause of public safety and in the war against the Ottomans (Fig. 142). The iconography of the portal eclectically arranges the paraphernalia related to the Bombardieri as part of their military equipment. The sculptural function of some of these objects, such as the mortars in the guise of brackets, creates odd and paradoxical combinations. Similarly to San Vidal, the *horror vacui* which allures yet disorients the viewer does not comply with the conventions of classical architecture, but instead conforms with the artifices of Mannerism and ephemeral apparatuses.¹⁰⁸

A contextualisation of the eccentric design of San Vidal cannot be made without discussing Gaspari's collaboration with Longhena and the non-conformism which characterises some of Longhena's most notable works. What strikes the viewer observing the design of Palazzo Bon (now Ca' Rezzonico) or Ca' Pesaro is the original use of rustication and the dialogue between architectural or sculptural masses and the spatial surroundings.¹⁰⁹ Observing the Doric portal on the *rio* at Palazzo Bon

77-104; Renato Cevese, 'Il Barocco a Vicenza: Revese-Pizzocaro-Borella', *Bollettino CISA* 4 (1962), pp. 129-46.

¹⁰⁷ Cavallari Murat (1962), pp. 92, 104; Pietro Gazzola, 'Il Barocco a Verona', *Bollettino CISA* 4 (1962), p. 158.

¹⁰⁸ On the Porta dei Bombardieri, see Alessandra Zamperini, 'Oltre l'effimero: la Porta dei Bombardieri a Verona', *Annuario storico della Valpolicella* 19 (2006), pp. 44-71.

¹⁰⁹ See Hopkins (2012), pp. 193-225.

(Fig. 143), it is possible to recognise the same contrast between coarse and smooth masses which characterised Gaspari's proposal for the library of Palazzo Zane facing the garden (Fig. 144), as well as the rusticated Ionic portal of San Vidal (Fig. 123).¹¹⁰ One of the most remarkable examples of the combination of sculpture and architecture by dint of rustication is Ca' Pesaro (Fig. 145). Suffice it to mention the contrasts of light and shadow, together with the impression of majesty and vigour, visible in the palace's most remarkable feature, that is, the diamond-cut rustication extending along the walls in the lower order.¹¹¹ In short, the comparison between these palaces and San Vidal suggests that Longhena's influence on Gaspari must be evaluated in terms of stylistic liberty and in the inventive reinterpretation of classical forms, with which he stamped his own originality on Baroque architectural language.

To sum up, it is evident that the thematic content of Gaspari's first design for the façade of San Vidal and its heterogeneous combination of elements mixed in conjunction with rustication are pivotal in the celebration of Morosini. Although it was highly original, Gaspari's project was never realised, and, probably as a result of the incoherence between its different components, was discarded. The practical impossibility of executing the façade did not prevent Gaspari from working on other projects in the 1690s. The designs of the second and third projects attenuate the use of rustication and augment the weight of classical architecture. As regards

¹¹⁰ On Gaspari's involvement in the design of the Zane palace, see Elena Bassi, *Palazzi di Venezia. Admiranda Urbis Venetae* (Venice: La stamperia di Venezia Editrice, 1976), pp. 317-20, and Hopkins (2012), pp. 186-88.

¹¹¹ Hopkins demonstrated that drawings by Gaspari executed in the mid-1670s give evidence of his collaboration with Longhena and on the reasons why he had proposed so many unusual features. See Hopkins (2012), p. 210. On Palazzo Pesaro, see also Frank (2004), pp. 250-61.

iconography, the religious function of the church façade is combined with an absolutist celebration of the doge's magistracy.

5. Antonio Gaspari's Second and Third Designs for San Vidal

The proposed plan and elevation of Gaspari's second design for San Vidal display a façade projecting from a centrally-planned church (Figs 127, 133). Similarly to the drawings of the first version, the façade presents a rusticated Ionic portal framed by four pilasters sustaining the Doric entablature and a pediment bearing the coat of arms of Morosini. On the sides of the pediment, a wall connects the façade to the drum, above which is a lantern at the centre and rusticated bell towers with Ghibelline merlons on the sides. In the niches between the pilasters, the statue of *San Vidal* on the left and the personification of *Fortitude* on the right are surmounted by tables depicting emblems.¹¹² Although the surface of the façade is mitigated by ashlar blocks in place of the rustication, the eccentricity which characterised the drawings of Gaspari's first set of drawings survives in the panoplies which are incorporated in the composite capitals, in the military trophies between the capitals and in the metopes between triglyphs in the Doric frieze. In contrast to Gaspari's first set of designs, the façade does not incorporate a commemorative statue of Morosini, but instead includes a relief situated above the portal displaying a political allegory (Fig. 128). This depicts Morosini wearing the uniform of a naval captain kneeling before the enthroned and bejewelled personification of Venice, who is wearing the *corno ducale* and the ermine on her shoulders. Morosini is receiving the general staff from Venice,

¹¹² Gaier (2002), p. 366.

while the male figure on his left is lifting the ducal crown with his left hand and in the other is holding a shield displaying Morosini's coat of arms. On the right of Venice, the female figure holding a cross in one hand and three banners in the other represents *Christian Faith*.¹¹³ Below the relief, a plaque with a Caesarean inscription summarises the depiction shown above with the following words: 'Doge Francesco Morosini went, saw, and defeated the Turks'.¹¹⁴

Martin Gaier observed that the architectural framework of this project reveals the influence of Palladian churches in Venice such as the Redentore or the façade of the church of the Zitelle.¹¹⁵ Therefore, Gaspari would have taken inspiration from both the classical and conventional architectural features of these churches such as the towers, which however in San Vidal are contaminated with elements specific to Gothic and military architecture.¹¹⁶ Moreover, the centralised plan of San Vidal recalls Bernini's Sant'Andrea al Quirinale in Rome and Gaspari's designs for the cathedral in Este (1688).¹¹⁷

The unusual features of this project can be clarified better by focusing on the way in which the façade is connected with the centrally-planned nave and the surrounding space. It is noteworthy that only one out of the six proposed plans for San Vidal proposes a single-nave church (Fig. 132), whereas the others are centrally-planned. Moreover, the design for Gaspari's second design for the façade is

¹¹³ Gaier noted that the banners allude to the Holy League, the alliance against the Ottoman Empire which was instituted by the papacy in 1684. See *ibid.*, p. 366.

¹¹⁴ 'FRANCISCUS MAUROCENO DUX. | IVIT, VIDIT, ET TURCAS VICIT'.

¹¹⁵ Gaier (2002), p. 367.

¹¹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 367.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 367. Gaspari's ability in working in a Palladian mode is also recalled in later projects such as his design for the façade of San Canciano (c. 1706).

the only one which can be directly compared with a drawing depicting the centralised plan of the church (Figs 127, 133).¹¹⁸ The presence of five versions illustrating the centralised plan¹¹⁹ suggests that Gaspari was experimenting with a layout for the nave which could have been achieved only by turning to the elliptical plan of a centralised building (Fig. 133). Each of the proposed centralised plans of San Vidal displays two entrances, the most important of which opens onto the Grand Canal and the other onto Campo Santo Stefano.¹²⁰ In contrast, the church has been rotated ninety degrees in the proposed longitudinal plan, with the façade facing Campo Santo Stefano (Fig. 132).¹²¹ Moreover, in contrast to the drawing representing the first project proposal, in the second version – and, as we shall see, in the third as well – the centrally-planned structure allowed Gaspari to attain a more nuanced modulation of the façade projecting from the nave and facing the Grand Canal.

The design for Gaspari's second design combines a structure evoking the typology of the martyrium with elements inspired by ephemeral architecture. The relief at the centre (Fig. 128) contributes to reaching this scope. As we shall see, its iconography is quite unusual for a façade that was to be erected as an honorific monument to a Venetian doge. Instead of incorporating a sarcophagus or a commemorative monument, the iconography of the relief symbolically recalls the essence of sacrifice as the act through which the sovereign power represented by the

¹¹⁸ As noted by Conticelli (1999), p. 155.

¹¹⁹ BCV, RG III, 11, 65, 89, 91, 96. See Conticelli (1999), p. 158.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 158.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 158; Gaier (2002), p. 373.

doge's magistracy is substantiated.¹²² In this light, the significance of the relief and the Latin inscription below it legitimises the particular conformation of the façade as a public recognition of the sovereign authority of the ducal office thanks to the services of Morosini. It can be argued that a similar message was inspired by the portal of Sant'Elena exhibiting the monument to the naval captain Vittore Cappello (c. 1468) or in the Grimani monument at the entrance of Sant'Antonio di Castello (completed c. 1548 and demolished in 1807).¹²³ In contrast to the sober appearance of the façades incorporating these monuments, Gaspari accentuated details evoking the military career of Morosini such as the panoplies and metopes displaying military trophies in his design. Moreover, the rusticated bell-towers and the combination of diverse elements are reminiscent of Serlio's style. A print from Serlio's *Libro quinto* shows the elevation of a church with two rusticated towers on the sides of the main façade (Fig. 146).¹²⁴ Similar towers appear with few differences in an illustration of a palace described in the *Libro settimo* which has been compared to the Palazzo Morosini dal Giardin, which was owned by the San Canciano branch of the Morosini family and renovated by Longhena.¹²⁵ The sixteenth-century *rio* wing of the palace (Fig. 147) has been ascribed to Palladio and can be considered as an attempt to

¹²² For this interpretation, cf. the analysis of the concept of sovereignty proposed by Gilberto Sacerdoti, *Sacrificio e sovranità Teologia e politica nell'Europa di Shakespeare e Bruno* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002), esp. pp. 241-73, which has been adjusted to the study of paintings in the Doge's Palace by Tagliaferro (2014), pp. 193-231, esp. p. 225. I shall return to the iconography of the relief later (see pp. 264-65).

¹²³ Cf. Gaier (2002), p. 367. On the Grimani and Cappello monuments, see *ibid.*, pp. 129-78.

¹²⁴ Sebastiano Serlio, *Quinto libro d'architettura di Sebastiano Serlio bolognese* (Paris: Michel de Vascosan, 1547), p. 20r-v.

¹²⁵ Serlio (1545), p. 205. The connection with the Morosini dal Giardin palace has been proposed by Bassi (1976), p. 273.

establish the motif of the rusticated towers in Venice.¹²⁶

Although the towers can also be observed in some Venetian churches, such as the Redentore or Santa Maria della Salute,¹²⁷ the ambivalence they assume in the proposed façade for San Vidal is unique to Gaspari. On the one hand, the towers renovate the design of San Vidal by recalling the dimensions of the old bell tower of the church.¹²⁸ On the other, the rustication and the merlons are typical of defensive buildings. As if they were built to protect the church from a military attack, the rusticated towers evoke Morosini's military campaigns against the Turks. Even the celebratory rhetoric praised Morosini's achievements in eschatological terms, thereby comparing them to a victory which had been divinely preordained.¹²⁹ The mixture of decorative elements sharing both a military and religious function, therefore, recalled God's providence as an essential condition to securing victory over Venice's enemies.

The fusion of politics and religion which is metaphorically visualised in Gaspari's designs for San Vidal can be contextualised better by extending our analysis to the Venetian Arsenal and its architectural surroundings. Andrew Hopkins has observed that the Arsenal represented Venice's maritime strength and for this reason sixteenth- and seventeenth-century additions were made to the gateway to maintain it

¹²⁶ Bassi (1976), p. 274. On Palazzo Morosini dal Giardin (demolished c. 1840), see Frank (2004), pp. 319-24; Jan-Christoph Rößler, 'Nuovi documenti per palazzi attribuiti a Baldassarre Longhena', *Arte Veneta* 65 (2008), pp. 193-97; Hopkins (2012), pp. 188-91.

¹²⁷ As suggested by Gaier (2002), p. 367.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 367.

¹²⁹ As explained by Ercolani (1698), p. 70: 'S'appendan pure pertanto i solenni voti dalle sacre pareti della tua regia basilica, com'è di costume di tua pietà, ne' più felici successi delle battaglie. Si festeggi con suoni, e canti il trionfo di questo giorno; che non è lecito riconoscere questo favore del Cielo, con minori dimostrazioni di giubilo, e di gradimento: ma si tessano insieme i panegirici al Merito del tuo gran capitano, la dicui provvidenza fu dal Cielo prescelta, perché fosse ministra del suo favore'.

as a memorial to Venetian naval victories.¹³⁰ The invocation of divine assistance which supposedly determined Venice's maritime victories over the Turks was alluded to by the architectural features of the church of the Madonna dell'Arsenale on the *fondamenta* flanking the *rio*. The church, which was built in the sixteenth century and destroyed in 1808, presented a Palladian façade with Doric columns and pilasters supporting the entablature and the pediment.¹³¹ An engraving by Luca Carlevarijs (Fig. 148) shows a view of the church and its visual connection with the Arsenal's crenelated towers and majestic gateway. The link with San Vidal is evident in the mixture of architectural elements evoking both militarism and the sense of divine favour that the Venetians considered instrumental to the military campaigns which were organised by the Republic. This is not surprising because the church of the Madonna dell'Arsenale was subjected to the ducal *jus patronatus*, and the bronze doors of the Arsenal also commemorated the reconquest of Morea by Morosini.¹³² In addition, religious zeal as fostering patriotism was further recalled in the lion of Saint Mark which is sculpted on the pediment of the church. It cannot be ruled out that the spatial and metaphorical ties between this church and the Arsenal may have provided Gaspari with an inspiration for the fusion of politics with religion which permeates the San Vidal designs both architecturally and semantically.

¹³⁰ Andrew Hopkins, *Santa Maria della Salute. Architecture and Ceremony in Baroque Venice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 128. For the history of the Arsenal, see Ennio Concina, *L'arsenale della repubblica di Venezia* (Milan: Electa, 1984).

¹³¹ Umberto Franzoi and Dina di Stefano, *Le chiese di Venezia* (Venice: Alfieri, 1976), p. 499.

¹³² In 1688 the gateway was embellished with sculptures of lions sent from Athens, and after the death of the doge it was decorated with the coat of arms of the Morosini della Sbarra family. See Conticelli (1999), p. 164, and Concina, (1984), pp. 194-95. For the ducal *jus patronatus* on the Madonna dell'Arsenale, see Concina (1995b), p. 44.

Many features of Gaspari's second design for San Vidal return in his third and last project (Figs 129-130). Four composite columns placed on a tall, rustic base support the entablature and a pediment which is decorated with the coat of arms of Morosini crowned by two putti. In the lateral wings, rusticated pilasters and arches frame the portals and sustain a Doric entablature which is surmounted by the attic. In the central niche between the intercolumniations, the statue of Morosini in the uniform of an admiral and the *corneo ducale* is set within a military trophy, a drape and a baldachin. On the left, a niche displays the personification of *Christian Faith* bearing a chalice and a wooden cross. Above and below the niche are tables with the Latin inscription 'for religion and war'.¹³³ On the right, a pyramid depicting the achievements of Morosini and the Latin inscription 'for peace and the state' is proposed as alternatives to the niche on the left.¹³⁴ Allusions to Morosini's deeds are also recorded in the frieze-like military trophies between the capitals and in the Latin inscription beneath the pedestal supporting the figure of Morosini, which proclaims the liberation of Peloponnesus from the Ottoman Empire.¹³⁵ The rhetorical significance of this epigraph is complemented by the inscription on the entablature above the composite columns, which pretentiously dedicates the church to 'Francesco Morosini Peloponnesiacus'.¹³⁶

Similarly to Gaspari's second design, religious figures are limited to statues of angels and saints adoring the Virgin above the attic and the pediment respectively.

¹³³ 'PRO FIDE ET BELLO'.

¹³⁴ 'PRO PATRIA ET PACE'.

¹³⁵ 'VINDICE TE PULSIS | RESPIRAT MOREA | TURCIS'.

¹³⁶ 'FRANCISCUS MAUROCENO PELOPONNESIACUS'.

The pyramid recalls the designs for the Santo Stefano monuments (Figs 110-112), while the attitude in which Morosini is depicted in the sculpture is akin to Giusto Le Court's sculptures of Caterino Cornaro and Antonio Barbaro (Figs 65, 76).¹³⁷ Remnants of both the Santo Stefano proposals and the Cornaro monument are especially evident in a preparatory sketch (Fig. 131) showing two pyramids and bound slaves on either side of the Morosini statue. Apart from the similarities with the previous designs for San Vidal, the most significant aspect of Gaspari's third set of drawings consists in the way in which he uses classical architecture vaguely inspired by Palladio in order to aggrandise Morosini on a par with an epic hero. Especially the similarities between the design of the façade and that of a classical temple¹³⁸ recall Morosini's exploits in the Peloponnesus and metaphorically elicit a heroic ideal which had also been adopted in the poems praising the favourable outcome of Morosini's military campaign during the Morean war.¹³⁹

Gaspari's ability to work in a Palladian mode or to reference ancient Greek buildings is also evident from his collaboration with Longhena. In 1649 the Vicentine noble Gian Luigi Valmarana commissioned a Palladian loggia for the gardens of his residence from Longhena.¹⁴⁰ Longhena's proposed drawing (Fig. 149) shows rusticated Doric pilasters and arches supporting the entablature and the pediment

¹³⁷ Conticelli (1999), p. 157.

¹³⁸ According to Gaier, the architectural source of Gaspari's project is Palladio's elevation of the temple of Minerva in Rome. See Gaier (2002), p. 365.

¹³⁹ See for example Domenico David, *Il Morosini in Coron* (Venezia: Andrea Poletti, 1686), p. 12: 'Sfodera dunque, o Capitan famoso, / La spada acuta, e'l giogo mio recidi. / Purga da i Trazij Mostri, o poderoso / Ercol de l'Adria, i miei turbati lidi', or Prati (1690b), p. 87: 'In Tracij agoni / A l'Ecate del Ponto ei franse il corno. / Sì memorando giorno / Segnisi in bianca pietra; in tanto ei voli / Novi Regni a aquistar sotto altri Poli'.

¹⁴⁰ Frank (2004), pp. 231-34; Hopkins (2012), pp. 26-29.

displaying a coat of arms. In the lateral wings, the smooth stonework attenuates the solid rustication of the central arches. Although the project was never executed, the design of the loggia was cited in the villa of the patrician Andrea Da Lezze in Rovare di San Biagio di Callalta (Treviso). A drawing attributed to Gaspari showing the elevation of the villa displays rusticated Doric columns and pilasters supporting the triangular pediment with the coat of arms of the Da Lezze family (Fig. 150). The drawing probably modified the original design for the Villa Da Lezze, which was devised by Longhena after 1660.¹⁴¹

Returning to Gaspari's third design for the façade of San Vidal, I will now focus on the way in which its iconography can be considered as an alternative to the imperialistic message which is implicit in his second set of drawings for San Vidal. The iconography of the third version of the façade, in fact, exemplifies a theme which was fundamental to the Venetian celebratory rhetoric: war as a precondition for peace and the state's preservation. This message is visualised in the drawing by displaying the statue of Morosini both as a doge and an admiral between the pyramid on the right and the personification of *Faith* on the left (Fig. 130). Nonetheless, although scholars of the Republic warned the Venetians about the risks of taking the honours of victory as grounds for personal pride,¹⁴² their ultimate recipient is Morosini, who is therefore sanctified as an absolute hero. Especially his statue, which, analogously to the first drawing for the façade and the portrait bust which is depicted in the Santo Stefano monument, likens Morosini to a Christian soldier, is crucial in

¹⁴¹ On Villa Da Lezze (demolished c. 1815), see Frank (2004), pp. 299-304.

¹⁴² Cf. Contarini (1591), p. 8 and Paruta (1822), p. 133.

achieving this scope. In addition, the combination of the statue with the pyramid on the right and with the personification of *Faith* on the left emphasises the celebration of Morosini as both liberator and conqueror of the territories which were oppressed by the Turks, thereby paralleling an encomiastic theme which can also be found in the panegyrics that were written to celebrate Morosini's victories.¹⁴³

The thematic content of the façade is presented as an alternative to the message which had already been visualised in Gaspari's second design for San Vidal. Here, the central relief (Fig. 128) consecrates Morosini as an admiral who is honoured with religious and sovereign prerogatives as a result of his service to the state. It is possible to demonstrate that the iconography of the relief reflects notions of power which were developed by early modern absolutism, although here it is adapted to a form of republican government. The idea that Venice was metaphorically comparable to a Christian kingdom intimated the notion of a revived empire, which was then endorsed by Venice's ruling class as a way of ensuring its political legitimacy and survival. As a consequence, the doge tended figuratively to incorporate the essence of Venice's sovereignty in a new and more nuanced way. Despite the objective limits to his powers, the distinctive marks of the doge's rank, stressed in the iconography of Gaspari's drawing, likened Morosini to a Christian prince on a par with contemporary European kings.¹⁴⁴

The type of imagery shown in the relief is close to Paolo Veronese's preparatory

¹⁴³ See for example Ercolani (1698), p. 124: '[...] ogni sasso sa prender lingua, e diventa facondo, per acclamarvi! Sopra questo vi leggo, liberatore delle provincie; sopra quello, conquistatore de regni: questo vi dice, salute della repubblica'.

¹⁴⁴ For the academic debate on this topic, see Muir (1981), pp. 251-89; Casini (2001), pp. 19-72; Tagliaferro (2003-04), *passim*, esp. pp. 248-50.

drawing for the so-called votive painting of Doge Sebastiano Venier in the Doge's Palace (Fig. 151). The drawing represents the investiture of Venier, who was appointed doge in virtue of the victory at Lepanto in 1571.¹⁴⁵ Venier, who is wearing the uniform of a naval captain, is kneeling before the personification of Venice holding the *cornio ducale* and that of *Christian Faith* with the chalice. The event occurs under the auspices of Saint Mark, who is sitting above the clouds in the top left of the composition.¹⁴⁶ By recalling the iconography of Veronese's drawing, the relief displayed in Gaspari's drawing (Fig. 128) evidences the self-celebration of Morosini as the commander who has been entrusted with the insignia of supreme domination and leadership. Thus, Morosini's victory over the Turks, which is likened to the extirpation of evil, is rewarded with the bestowal of the symbols of regal power (the ducal cap and the general staff) and the emblems of God's favour (the banners). The banners especially recall the ones that were donated by Pope Alexander III to Doge Sebastiano Ziani in 1177 in recompense for the doge's role in the dispute between the pope and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.¹⁴⁷ The personification of Venice, which mediates between the figure of Morosini and *Christian Faith*, illustrates the bond between sacrality and republican ideology which animates the composition. Being seated on a throne, wearing the ermine and carrying the ducal cap, Venice is endowed with the sovereign authority embodied by the *cornio ducale* and the general staff donated to Morosini, whereas the tiny cross lying on her breast indicates that

¹⁴⁵ Tagliaferro (2005), p. 86.

¹⁴⁶ In the canvas which was executed for the Doge's Palace, iconographical adaptations transform the painting into a celebration of Venice through the commemoration of the battle of Lepanto. See *ibid.*, p. 86

¹⁴⁷ On the papal concessions, see Muir (1981), pp. 103-19.

sovereignty cannot be set apart from faith. Accordingly, by exhibiting the uniform and the headgear of a naval captain while kneeling with reverence, Morosini solemnly affirms loyalty and allegiance to Venice.

The politico-theological foundations of Venice's sovereign prerogatives as they are invoked by Gaspari's drawing are further visualised in paintings which depict the coronation of doges who had been naval captains. A comparison with Titian's painting of the doge and admiral Antonio Grimani kneeling before the personification of *Faith* will clarify the point (Fig. 152). In this painting, the allusion to Grimani's election to the dogate has been construed as a posthumous rehabilitation of the then naval captain, who was exiled after Venice's defeat at the hands of the Turks in 1499.¹⁴⁸ The comparison with Titian's painting evidences the aggrandising function which is implied in Gaspari's drawing (Fig. 128). In this regard, it is notable that the coronation of Morosini is performed by the male figure whose iconography seems to be inspired by the personifications of both *Honour* and *Merit*.¹⁴⁹ The attribute of merit was especially praised in a panegyric acclaiming the everlasting merit of Morosini's achievements.¹⁵⁰

Although the iconography of the relief displayed in Gaspari's drawing is partially reminiscent of the aforementioned paintings which were commissioned by the state, the self-celebration of Morosini as intimated by Gaspari would have been

¹⁴⁸ On this painting, see Wolters (1983), pp. 100-01. The connection with Gaspari has been proposed by Conticelli (1999), p. 158, and Gaier (2002), p. 367.

¹⁴⁹ Gaier interprets the figure as a personification of *Honour*. See Gaier (2002), p. 366. For the personification of *Merit*, cf. Ripa (2012), pp. 373-74.

¹⁵⁰ Ercolani (1698), p. 10: 'Il vostro merito è già in comparsa. Meritaste voi sempre; meritaste voi sempre, e molto; meritaste voi molto per sempre'.

unthinkable in the Doge's Palace. Although it is hyperbolic, the exaltation of Morosini was plausible in virtue of its visualisation on a church façade which was conceived as an honorific monument. Nonetheless, the fact that neither Morosini nor his family ever expressed the wish to patronise the reconstruction of San Vidal suggests that Gaspari's involvement and liberty in giving a personal interpretation to the iconographical programme went beyond what was expected. Equally importantly, the possible involvement of Teodoro Tesserì, who might have collaborated with Gaspari to devise the iconographical programme of the façade, cannot be ruled out.¹⁵¹

In contrast to Gaspari's projects, Gregorio Lazzarini's paintings – which embellish Morosini's arch of honour in the Doge's Palace (Fig. 114) – offer a more careful and conventional celebration.¹⁵² On the bottom left of the triumphal arch, a painting represents Morosini both as a doge and as a commander, while offering the reconquered Morea to the personification of Venice (Fig. 153). In contrast to the iconography which is deployed by Gaspari in his projects, the painting focuses on the celebration of Venice as a result of Morosini's military conquests. In another picture, the personification of *Merit* accompanied by two putti exhibits the ducal cap and the general staff (Fig. 154). The recipient of these gifts, nonetheless, is no longer represented but only tacitly recalled by the *corno ducale* and the armour worn by the personification of *Merit*.

¹⁵¹ See Conticelli (1999), pp. 148-49. Tesserì's potential involvement in devising the iconographical programme of the façade deserves further scrutiny.

¹⁵² For Lazzarini's paintings, see Conticelli (1999), p. 169 and Wolfgang Wolters, *The Doge's Palace in Venice. A Tour through Art and History* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010), pp. 172-73.

* * *

This chapter has focused on Gaspari's designs for a funerary monument in Santo Stefano and for the façade of San Vidal, both of which were constructed to honour Doge Francesco Morosini and his family. An analysis of Gaspari's drawings has demonstrated that these were construed as an exaltation of the expansionist policies which had been endorsed by Morosini during his military campaigns in Candia and Morea. Close scrutiny of the drawings' design and iconography has led to a re-evaluation of Gaspari as a talented architect who was acquainted with sources available in Venice and beyond. Moreover, the thematic contents of these projects and the way in which they parallel or redevelop analogous themes which had been described by panegyrists suggest the existence of an iconographical programme which might have been devised by Teodoro Tesserì, a learned priest who was certainly close to Morosini.

The proposed designs for a funerary monument in Santo Stefano emphasised the glorification of Morosini, both as a doge and as an admiral of the Venetian republic. Early modern absolutism and Mannerist architecture, both adapted to the celebrative purposes of an honorific monument incorporated into a church façade, characterise instead the designs of San Vidal. Particularly important was the mediation of Longhena, the architect who partly influenced the style of Gaspari and who had already resorted to Mannerist models, adjusting and updating them to his new

architectural language. Overall, both the Santo Stefano and the San Vidal designs exacerbated the rhetoric of the service to the state that inspired the funerary monuments to Venetian captains and war heroes. The intersection of politics, religion and republican ethos that characterises Gaspari's drawings results in a cogent depiction of Morosini as a quasi-absolute ruler. Furthermore, the exaltation of personal virtues as an opportunity to reaffirm the greatness of Venice is surpassed by the celebration of the self. Although Morosini was a controversial figure and his aggrandising epic marked the triumph of individualism, Gaspari's designs did not jeopardise – or at least, not explicitly – the limits which were imposed on one's self-celebration in Venice.¹⁵³ It should be noted that these drawings were conceived as project proposals which could later have been subject to iconographical changes. Despite being non-conformist, they did not trigger negative reactions among the patricians hostile to Morosini because of their provisory nature and limited circulation, and it is also probably for this reason that they surprise and engage the viewer with their unfiltered originality.

Gaspari's designs did not mark the end of an ideologically-inspired celebration of Venice through the achievements of its rulers. On the eve of the eighteenth century, the designs for a mausoleum for the patrician Valier family proposed by various architects including Gaspari attempted to re-establish the thematic contents of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century ducal tombs. In sharp contrast to his contenders, Gaspari proposed designs which once again impress the viewer with their iconographic irreverence and architectural uniqueness.

¹⁵³ To my knowledge, there is still no evidence of negative criticism made by contemporary observers regarding Gaspari's drawings.

Chapter Six

The Mausoleum of the Valier Family

Few Venetian churches other than Santi Giovanni e Paolo enable visitors to engage to the same extent with the magnificent architecture and the didactic function which is performed by funerary monuments. This church, which has been a theatre of pageantry and devotion since the thirteenth century, became the proud holder of the appellative of “pantheon” as a result of the number of doges and other eminent Venetians who are commemorated there in sumptuous monuments.¹ In the nineteenth century, the circulation of guidebooks encouraged foreigners to visit the church by taking a path around the monuments erected in memory of those who were recorded for posterity, either as a result of their achievements or through the mediation of powerful patrons, as unforgettable exponents of Venetian history.²

Praised by contemporary observers, though discredited by nineteenth-century criticism, the sumptuous mausoleum of the Valier family has pride of place in the fourth bay of the right nave of Santi Giovanni e Paolo (Figs 155-165).³ The monument, which commemorates Doge Bertuccio (d. 1659), his son Doge Silvestro

¹ A characteristic which is already latent in the descriptions of the church by Francesco Sansovino and Domenico Martinelli. See Sansovino (1663), pp. 56-57; Martinelli (1705), p. 153. To my knowledge, the first scholar who called Santi Giovanni e Paolo ‘the Doges’ Pantheon’ was the Austrian orientalist Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall. See Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 3 (Pest: Hartleben, 1828), p. 598.

² See for example Moschini (1815), pp. 130-72; Giulio Lorenzetti, *Venezia e il suo estuario* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1926), pp. 323-37.

³ Critical appreciation of the Valier mausoleum in seventeenth-century literature is discussed below in Section 2 in this chapter. For nineteenth-century criticism, suffice it to mention the withering description by Selvatico (1847), p. 435.

Valier (d. 1700) and Silvestro's wife Elisabetta Querini (d. 1708), was devised by Andrea Tirali and completed in 1707. The mausoleum has been generally construed as the last major Venetian monument to be erected in memory of a seventeenth-century ducal family.⁴ At a glance, the mausoleum marks the divide between two eras. On the one hand, the monument's colossal dimensions, in conjunction with the prominence given to the figures of Bertuccio, Silvestro and Elisabetta, pursues the path of the triumph of the individual which had commenced with the monument to Giovanni Pesaro at the Frari (1669). On the other, the monument's structure, inspired by classical architecture, and especially its thematic content focused on the glorification of the Valier family as an opportunity to indirectly celebrate Venice, determined the shift towards a more cautious mode of celebration inspired by principles of moderation and self-restraint.

This chapter compares and contrasts the Valier mausoleum which was devised by Andrea Tirali and the two designs which were made for it by Antonio Gaspari in the 1690s (Figs 166-178). Gaspari's drawings are part of a larger group of projects designs for the Valier monument which were proposed by Tirali, Gaspari and other architects around the same period.⁵ The iconography of some of these projects

⁴ The Valier monument has been studied almost exclusively by Andrea Da Mosto and more recently by Monica De Vincenti. See Da Mosto (2003), pp. 447-50; Monica De Vincenti, "Piacere ai dotti e ai migliori". Scultori classicisti del primo '700', in Pavanello (2002), pp. 225-28; Monica De Vincenti, 'Il "prodigioso" mausoleo dei dogi Valier ai Santi Giovanni e Paolo', *Arte Veneta* 68 (2011), pp. 143-63; Monica De Vincenti, 'Monumento funerario dei dogi Silvestro e Bertucci Valier e della Dogaressa Elisabetta Querini Valier', in Pavanello (2013), pp. 404-14.

⁵ The reference study on these projects is De Vincenti (2011), pp. 143-63. They represent the standing or enthroned figure of Bertuccio alongside the sculpted portraits of Silvestro, Elisabetta and allegorical personifications. See the images published in *ibid.*, pp. 145-53. De Vincenti mainly focuses on the chronology and iconography of these projects, with particular attention to the preparatory drawings which were submitted by Tirali (*ibid.*, pp. 152-54 and figs 8-10). De Vincenti also mentions Gaspari's drawings, although they are analysed only cursorily as part of a broader survey of all the

reinterprets the classicising vocabulary of Venetian sixteenth-century funerary monuments, while others emphasise Bertuccio and Silvestro's achievements during the Cretan and Morean wars. Gaspari's drawings stand out because of their uniqueness and nonconformism. Besides those devised for Doge Francesco Morosini, their originality can be valued in terms of their artistic innovations. As the visual analysis in Section 1 in this chapter will demonstrate, some of the architectural features which are displayed in these projects are unprecedented in the tradition of Venetian funerary monuments. Moreover, their scrutiny allows us to reappraise the triumph of the individual as it took shape in Venice from the erection of the Pesaro monument in 1669 onwards. This chapter presents an examination of Gaspari's projects based on a close analysis of the drawings now preserved in the Museo Correr, which are reproduced in high-resolution detail in this study for the first time. A comparative reading of Gaspari's projects and Tirali's monument will enable us to summarise the themes which fashioned the Venetian politics of monuments as it has been hitherto analysed and to draw preliminary conclusions.⁶

The multifaceted significance of the Valier monument is connected with the

documented proposed designs for the Valier monument.

⁶ The analysis of Gaspari's drawings in this chapter is intended to complement the excursion into the celebration of the individual which commenced with the scrutiny of the Pesaro monument in Chapter Two and bring this to its conclusion. For this reason, this chapter mainly deals with issues related to the iconography of Gaspari's drawings and their sources of inspiration which help to assess their rhetorical potency and artistic originality. These aspects of the drawings have generally been overlooked by scholarship, which mainly explored the role of their patrons (the dogaressa Elisabetta Quirini, as we shall see later) and clarified their chronology. See the studies by Monica De Vincenti, Massimo Favilla and Ruggero Rugolo, who have updated the analysis of Gaspari's designs which was conducted by Elena Bassi in her pioneering article: Bassi (1963), pp. 93-94; Favilla and Rugolo (2006-07), pp. 154-65; De Vincenti (2011), pp. 148, 150-51.

celebratory ideals of the ducal magistracy, which had reached an almost paradigmatic expression by the beginning of the seventeenth century with the monument to Leonardo Loredan (Fig. 2).⁷ Both erected in Santi Giovanni e Paolo, the Loredan and the Valier monuments are complementary. Whereas the former renovated the custom to erect ducal tombs as a monumental display of republican pride, setting an example for analogous monuments in seventeenth-century Venice, the latter constituted the apogee – but also the end – of the season of colossal monuments inspired by Roman models in terms of both architecture and iconography. This chapter aims to demonstrate that by the beginning of the eighteenth century the theme of the triumph of the individual, although still in vogue, was attenuated by a return to the principles which had inspired the celebration of the doges in the sixteenth century. For this reason, special attention will also be paid to the relations and contrasts between the Valier mausoleum and Longhena's Pesaro monument (Fig. 35). References to the architecture and significance of this monument are evident both in Gaspari and in Tirali. On the one hand, certain features of Gaspari's projects seem to be inspired by the Pesaro monument. On the other, a comparison with Tirali and Longhena will shed light on the differences between the Pesaro monument and the Valier mausoleum.

Besides the visual analysis of Gaspari's projects and Tirali's monument, this chapter also deals with visual rhetoric and the eulogies which praised the Valier family and their mausoleum. The scrutiny of eulogies in support of the analysis of

⁷ See Chapter One, Section 2.

the Valier monument allows us to observe the continuity of the *topos* of the living image in late seventeenth-century Venice. The recourse to the *topos* of the living image in some poems describing the Valier monument confirms the persistent success of this theme. Especially important are the synergies between literati and architects and the extent to which their connections influenced the architecture of the Valier monument, both visually and rhetorically. Scholars have acknowledged that Tirali was influenced by the Greek-born scholar Andreas Musalus (1665-1721), a professor of mathematics and an architectural theorist who was active in Venice in the seventeenth century.⁸ Musalus's legacy is important because he encouraged eighteenth-century architects to seek a reformist aesthetic in architecture which was imbued with a classicism that sharply contrasted with Longhena's tradition.⁹ The anti-baroque rigourist trend advocated by Musalus was supported by Apostolo Zeno (1668-1750), the Venetian bibliophile and man of letters who contributed to the circulation of the neoclassical aesthetic in literature which was promoted among others by the illustrious north-Italian scholar Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672-1750).¹⁰

Section One will investigate Gaspari's designs in relation to their architecture and iconography. Special emphasis will be laid on the architectural framework of the proposed monuments and the way in which they interact with the surrounding space.

⁸ Valeria Farinati, 'Architettura e committenza nel primo Settecento veneziano: l'intervento di Andrea Tirali in palazzo Priuli Manfrin a Cannaregio (1724-1731)', *Annali di architettura* 3 (1991), p. 113; De Vincenti (2011), p. 143. For Musalus, see Elena Bassi, 'Andrea Musalo', in *Piranesi tra Venezia e l'Europa*, ed. Alessandro Bettagno (Florence: Olschki, 1983), pp. 59-73.

⁹ Farinati (1991), p. 128.

¹⁰ For a broader scrutiny of Zeno and his entourage and a review of the relevant bibliography, see *ibid.*, p. 124.

Moreover, the scrutiny of Gaspari's drawings will enhance their contrast with the actual monument which was designed by Tirali. The architecture and the iconography of this monument will be investigated in Section Two. The first part of this section will analyse the monument's main architectural features, which are the triumphal arch structure, polychromy and the relation with the two chapels flanking the monument which were originally devised by Gaspari but completed by Tirali. The second part will focus on iconography and on the way in which allegorical personifications of virtues evoke essential themes of the Venetian republican ethos.

1. Antonio Gaspari's Designs for the Mausoleum of the Valier Family

In a plea addressed to the friars of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in 1692, Doge Silvestro Valier requested the concession to erect a monument in memory of his father on the wall between the chapels of the Santissimo Nome di Dio and San Domenico in Santi Giovanni e Paolo.¹¹ In truth, the plan to erect a wall-monument was a makeshift solution. Before appealing to the friars in 1692, Silvestro had already sought to secure the façade of the church as the most 'noble and decorous' location for a monument to his father.¹² As Andrea Da Mosto relates in his biographies of doges, Bertuccio died in 1658 and his remains were initially accommodated in a chapel behind the sacristy of San Giobbe and subsequently buried under a tombstone next to the mausoleum in Santi Giovanni e Paolo.¹³ The Dominican church represented an

¹¹ ASV, *Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Catastico*, III, f. 134r, cited in Massimo Favilla and Ruggero Rugolo, 'Progetti di Antonio Gaspari architetto della Venezia barocca', *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti. Classe di Scienze morali, lettere ed arti* 165 (2006-07), pp. 154-55.

¹² Da Mosto (2003), p. 450. Da Mosto relied on Silvestro's will, which was composed in 1696 and published in 1700: *Testamento del serenissimo Silvestro Valier doge di Venetia* (Venetia, 1700), p. 10.

¹³ Da Mosto (2003), p. 394. Silvestro explained in his will that the tomb was intended to

obvious choice to erect a funerary monument to the Valier family, because a ceremony in remembrance of the Battle of the Dardanelles which occurred during Bertuccio's dogate was celebrated in the basilica every year.¹⁴ In his will Silvestro entrusted Elisabetta with selecting a design from those which had been proposed by various architects which had been sent from Rome to Venice.¹⁵ The chosen project was Tirali's, who had submitted two designs in the late 1690s.¹⁶ The erection of the monument began in 1704 and was completed in 1707, one year before the death of Elisabetta.

Gaspari created two designs for the Valier monument which are illustrated in drawings now preserved in the Museo Correr (Figs 166-178). These proposals were conceived as two different versions of the same monument and have generally been dated to the 1690s.¹⁷ One of these drawings (Fig. 166) must have been devised before Silvestro's election to the dogate in 1694, because a medallion depicts his portrait bust wearing the gown of a senator.¹⁸ In the second design (Fig. 173), Silvestro is wearing ducal robes and it is therefore likely that the drawing was

accommodate the bodies of himself, his consort and Bertuccio. The tombstone bears only the simple Latin inscription 'VALERIORUM | PRINCIPUM | CINERES'. See *Testamento del serenissimo Silvestro Valier* (1700), pp. 10-11.

¹⁴ *Testamento del serenissimo Silvestro Valier* (1700), p. 10. The battle took place at the Dardanelles on 26 June 1656. Although Venice defeated the Turks, the admiral Lorenzo Marcello, the hero of the battle, fell on the battlefield. See Nani (1679), pp. 416-25. As we shall see later in this chapter, the battle is also recalled in one of the bas-reliefs of the Valier monument. See below p. 298.

¹⁵ *Testamento del serenissimo Silvestro Valier* (1700), p. 10.

¹⁶ A detailed iconographical reading of Tirali's project designs is provided by Monica De Vincenti. She suggested that Elisabetta's preference for Tirali's project is entwined with his recruitment to complete the San Domenico chapel next to the Valier monument in 1700. See De Vincenti (2011), pp. 153-54.

¹⁷ Bassi (1963), p. 93; Favilla and Rugolo (2006-07), pp. 155, 159.

¹⁸ As was first noted by Bassi (1963), p. 93. Silvestro was elected on 25 February 1694. See Da Mosto (2003), p. 443.

executed after Silvestro's election to the dogate.¹⁹ It is thus possible that the first drawing was made between 1692 and 1694, when Silvestro was still alive and had already appealed to the Dominican friars to request the concession to erect the monument. The second drawing was then executed between 1694 and 1700, the year in which both projects were discarded in favour of the one which had been proposed by Tirali.

Gaspari's designs (Figs 166, 173) represent a three-tier structure incorporating two portals at the base – one leading to the lateral exit of the church and the other to the chapel of the Madonna della Pace; statues and portrait busts of Bertuccio, Silvestro and Elisabetta, accompanied by allegorical personifications in the middle; and a thermal window at the top. Both proposals pivot around the idea of Bertuccio's resurrection from the tomb which has pride of place below a canopy set against a marmoreal drape which is framed by two Ionic pilasters (Figs 167, 174). The complex architectural framework of the central register in both drawings displays Ionic pilasters sustaining a concave entablature projecting from the wall of the basilica and incorporating two fictive perspectives on the sides. As a whole, the central register creates a sort of architectural background for the statue of Bertuccio above the tomb. The most evident differences in the central register between the two drawings concern the figures of Silvestro and Elisabetta, who are depicted within medallions in the form of portrait busts in the former and in the form of statues standing alongside allegories in the latter. What remains unchanged is the uppermost

¹⁹ Bassi (1963), p. 93.

register, which displays allegorical personifications on both sides of the thermal window and the coat of arms of the Valier family at the top (Figs 166, 173). The lower register, which is omitted in the second drawing, represents pilasters framing escutcheons and two portals with allegorical personifications above the pedestals.

Similarly to drawings he made for the monument to Doge Francesco Morosini,²⁰ Gaspari's drawings share a distinctive unconventionality, an attention to unusual details and the influence of Roman seventeenth-century architecture. The division of the proposed monument into two registers as well as the thermal window recalls and updates the traditional monumental wall tombs (*depositi*) of the doges in Baroque forms. An exemplary model was Longhena's Pesaro monument which was also divided into two registers and represented the statue of the doge set against a slab of marble resembling a canopy (Fig. 35). In order to comprehend Gaspari's drawings, it is necessary to compare them to the designs for the chapels of San Domenico and Santissimo Nome di Dio on the sides of the monument that Gaspari proposed around 1690 (Figs 179-180). Gaspari was originally commissioned for the reconstruction of these chapels, before the project was taken over by Tirali in 1700.²¹ The classicist design for the exterior of both chapels is inspired by sixteenth-century architecture, whereas the interior of the San Domenico chapel shows a concave

²⁰ For these designs, see Chapter Five.

²¹ For an overview of these chapels and a summary of Gaspari's original projects, see Favilla and Rugolo (2006-07), pp. 141-54, and Massimo Bisson, 'Cappella di San Domenico', in Pavanello (2013), p. 427. The chapel of the Scuola del Santissimo Nome di Dio (now chapel of the Addolorata or of Blessed Giacomo Salomoni) was built between 1463 and 1464, and renovated in the early seventeenth century. At the present stage there is not enough evidence to ascribe the Baroque renovation of this chapel to Gaspari. Elena Bassi had already suggested that Gaspari's proposed design for the chapel was probably conceived as a model for that of San Domenico, which shares many details of the architectural framework of the chapel of the Santissimo Nome di Dio. See Bassi (1963), p. 94, and Pavanello (2013), p. 43.

profile encircling a richly decorated altar. Gaspari was therefore concerned with creating continuity between the nave, the Valier monument and the two lateral chapels, thereby revamping the Gothic nave of the church in conjunction with his innovative baroque monument.²²

An unusual feature of Gaspari's first design for the Valier monument is the water-coloured Ionic pilaster on the left supporting the Gothic vault (Fig. 166). In contrast with Tirali's design for the mausoleum, the pilaster is not part of the monument. It separates the bay occupied by the proposed monument from the lateral chapels. In Gaspari's first design, the monument framed within the two Ionic pilasters appears to be as deep as the vault above the entrance to the chapel of the Madonna della Pace (Figs 166, 168). The impression of depth is also suggested by the statue of Bertuccio alongside allegorical personifications whose figures give the impression of protruding into the space of the nave (Fig. 167). Such conformation would have enhanced the monument's colossal appearance and sense of majesty. An analogous effect is achieved in the second design (Fig. 174) by a sort of hemicycle created with Ionic pilasters: the ones on the sides are projecting from the wall into the nave and the others are curved inwards. Moreover, in this drawing the statues of Silvestro, Elisabetta and the allegorical personifications lean over the rail between the pilasters displaying garlands. It is therefore evident that the complexity of the architectural structure would have required significant construction work on the wall

²² We shall see later in this chapter that the intention of this programme was similar to Tirali's proposal of the Valier monument and the chapels on the sides, although the effect achieved by Gaspari differed from that attained by Tirali. See below pp. 288-89.

of the basilica, not to mention the wide thermal window in the uppermost register.

A key source of inspiration for Gaspari's project proposals are seventeenth-century monuments to Roman popes, which are revised and adjusted to the Venetian architectural language. The two putti below the tomb holding a drape aloft in Gaspari's second design for the Valier mausoleum (Fig. 174) replace the skeleton in the first drawing (Fig. 167), which was an obvious reference to Bernini's monument to Pope Alexander VII.²³ This motif was rather well known in late seventeenth-century Venice: it was revisited in monuments such as those to Doge Giovanni Pesaro at the Frari or to the commander Orazio Secco in the basilica of Sant'Antonio in Padua. Bertuccio's figure standing on the tomb and dominating the allegorical personifications on either side of him also recalls Baroque papal monuments which display a similar structure and iconography.²⁴ Nonetheless, a closer look at Bertuccio's figure reveals that, in addition to papal tombs, the source of inspiration for Gaspari was a different one. Bertuccio's statue in fact reinterprets the figure of the Resurrected Christ which was visible in some of the major Venetian ducal monuments.²⁵ Gaspari went even further and proposed a glorious resurrection of Bertuccio as a victory over death itself. In Gaspari's drawings, Bertuccio is stepping out of his tomb while raising his right arm and holding the *corno ducale* in his left hand (Figs 167, 174.). This iconography finds a precedent in Giulio Romano's monument to Baldassar Castiglione in Santa Maria delle Grazie in Curtatone (Mantua,

²³ As was first noted by Da Mosto (2003), p. 450.

²⁴ See the pictures of papal tombs in Giulio Ferrari, *La tomba nell'arte italiana dal periodo preromano all'odierno* (Milan: Hoepli, 1916), plates 134, 165, 167, 169, 170, 175, 179, 181.

²⁵ Cf. my analysis of the Loredan monument in Chapter One, Section 2, esp. p. 52.

Fig. 181). In this monument, the posture of Christ raising his right arm while keeping his hand almost completely open accentuates the idea of triumph over death.²⁶ In a similar way, Gaspari's animates the proposed monument through the depiction of the sudden, theatrical apparition of the doge from the tomb which is even uncovered, and transforms the monument into a Baroque stage which foretells both glory and resurrection.

The allegorical personifications which are represented in the lower register of Gaspari's first design echo the message of redemption which is implicit in Bertuccio's resurrection. The five female figures supported by pedestals (Figs 169-171), four on the sides and one standing alone in the centre, are identifiable by their attributes and the Latin inscriptions on the base of the lateral pedestals. The inscriptions, which read 'Mercy and Truth have met' on the pedestal on the left and 'Peace and Justice have kissed' on the right, cite Psalm 84 which prefigures the Messianic advent.²⁷ Above the pedestal on the left, the personification of *Mercy* embraces the female figure representing *Truth* (Fig. 169). *Truth's* attribute, a cross, seems to especially qualify this figure as a personification of *Christian Truth*.²⁸ The integrity of the Christian dogmas is safeguarded by *Mercy*, the personification which invokes compassion toward wrongdoing and sponsors an alliance with *Truth*, as their gentle and sympathetic embrace demonstrates.²⁹ The significance of these allegorical

²⁶ Howard Burns and Pier Nicola Pagliara, 'La cappella Castiglioni', in *Giulio Romano* (1989), p. 534.

²⁷ 'Misericordia et Veritas obviaverunt sibi' and 'Iustitia et Pax osculate sunt'.

²⁸ In his description of the personification of Truth, Cesare Ripa invoked the connection between Truth and Christian Faith when he mentioned the efforts of those who defended their faith from the prosecutions of tyrants. See Ripa (2012), p. 589.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 391. The evil-looking tail behind the personification of *Mercy* is probably an allusion to turpitude.

figures is complemented by the personification of *Charity*, the woman alongside three children standing on the pedestal at the centre (Fig. 170), and the allegories of *Peace* and *Justice* on the right (Fig. 171), which are kissing and carrying their distinctive attributes, that is, an olive branch, the scale and a sword. In Gaspari's drawing, these allegorical personifications are transformed into attributes of the Valier family and summarise the advent of Bertuccio as the ancestor of a dynasty destined to bring wealth and prosperity to Venice.

The remaining allegorical personifications represent further religious, moral and intellectual qualities of the Valier family and complete the significance of the allegories which are displayed in the lower register. In particular, it is possible to identify the personifications of *Prudence* and *Christian Faith* which are pointing to Bertuccio in Gaspari's second design for the Valier monument (Fig. 174). Although the personifications depicted in Gaspari's drawing symbolise the ideals that the Venetian republican ethos considered indispensable for those patricians who were engaged in politics, Gaspari wanted to intensify the rhetorical significance of these figures by emphasising the gestural expressiveness of those who are exhorting Silvestro and Elisabetta to turn their attention to the resurrection of Bertuccio as the main focus of the composition. In the uppermost register, the figure holding a huge book with a sun depicted on its chest and a bird above its head seems to carry the attributes of Truth, Wisdom and Ingenuity (Fig. 175).³⁰ On the opposite side, a

³⁰ The sun depicted on the figure's breast recalls the personification of *Truth* in the Pesaro monument. Ripa explains that the sun is an attribute of Truth; moreover, Ripa describes Wisdom as a young female figure holding a book in her left hand; finally, Ripa observes that Ingenuity carries an eagle above his head. The bird depicted on the head of the personification shown in Gaspari's drawing (Fig.

Victory is crowned with a laurel wreath, holding another laurel wreath in her right hand and a palm in her left (Fig. 176).³¹ In particular, the probable personification of Truth, Wisdom or Ingenuity is reminiscent of the allegory of *Truth* displayed in the Pesaro monument and the personification of *Wisdom* on the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio (Fig. 78). Perhaps influenced by these monuments, Gaspari devised a mausoleum in which the allegorical personifications, albeit traditional, immortalise the apotheosis of the dynasty of the Valier as the sole depositary of good government through the exercise of their own virtues.

A hitherto unacknowledged peculiarity of Gaspari's architectural style is his engagement with sculpture and "architectural pictorialism" or, more broadly, the extent to which Gaspari was influenced by painting.³² Suffice it to mention the male figure with a book who hovers aloft on clouds on the top left next to the thermal window (Fig. 177) or the fictive perspectives in the niches on either side of Bertuccio in both versions of Gaspari's drawings (Fig. 172). Sometimes the interrelation between architecture and sculpture is so tight that Gaspari's designs would have been a tour de force for the potential sculptors involved. The stuccoes on the ceiling of the two niches containing the fictive perspectives (Fig. 174) and the coat of arms of the Valier family held by two putti at the top of the monuments (Fig. 178) are reminiscent of those which decorated the interiors of late seventeenth-century Venetian palaces. In 1681 Gaspari collaborated with the French painter Louis

175) is probably an eagle and is displayed only in Gaspari's second design. See Ripa (2012), pp. 271, 520, 590.

³¹ Ibid., p. 606.

³² To my knowledge, the only scholar who has briefly alluded to this quality of Gaspari's style is Gaier (2002), p. 361.

Dorigny and the Swiss plasterer Abbondio Stazio in the restoration of Ca' Zenobio, a palace which was purchased in 1664 by Pietro and Verità Zenobio.³³ In 1692 the Albrizzi, a family from Bergamo which was aggregated to the Venetian nobility in 1667, renovated their palace at San Cassiano in Venice.³⁴ Although it is not clear whether or not Gaspari was involved in the renovation, the palace is remarkable for the stuccoes which were executed by Stazio around 1700 (Figs 182a-b).³⁵ Both in the Ca' Zenobio and in the Palazzo Albrizzi the stuccoes are exemplary. They offer a remarkable example of the way in which architecture can interact with the pictorial and almost velvety appearance of sculptural decorations. As had already been the case in previous designs, Gaspari's drawings are often rich in astounding effects which which, however, were not used in the finished works.³⁶ A case in point was his proposed design for the high altar of San Moisè, which was eventually executed by Heinrich Mayring when Alessandro Tremignon took over from Gaspari by proposing a similar yet more modest version of his design.³⁷ It is perhaps from Tremignon's high altar (Fig. 183) that Gaspari derived the personification of *Fame* holding a trumpet, which is represented on the left of the baldachin in both designs for the Valier monument (Fig. 177).

It is possible that the intricacy of Gaspari's projects did not convince Elisabetta at all. Moreover, as a consequence of the structural failure of the walls in the San

³³ Bassi (1963), pp. 74-76; Bernard Aikema, "Il famoso Abondio". Abbondio Stazio e la decorazione a stucco nei palazzi Veneziani. Circa 1685-1750', *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 21 (1997), p. 89.

³⁴ Bassi (1976), p. 325.

³⁵ On the renovation of Palazzo Albrizzi, see Bassi (1962), pp. 254-58, Bassi (1976) p. 325 and Aikema (1997), p. 91. On the stucchi, see *ibid.*, pp. 90-97.

³⁶ On this topic, cf. Biadene (1985), p. 94.

³⁷ See Bassi (1963), p. 62.

Domenico Chapel, the Dominican friars must also have preferred the designs for the Valier mausoleum which had been devised by Tirali.³⁸ Nonetheless, there is no reason to condemn Gaspari's designs as mediocre work. Although it is true that some details are unnecessarily complex, they should be construed as a mark of the inventiveness of their author. In conclusion, Gaspari's designs are captivating because they reinterpret the triumph of the individual as it was conceived in the iconography of the Pesaro monument and in late seventeenth-century Venetian dynastic monuments. Although the iconographical programme behind the drawings is learned and articulated, it did not reach the golden mean between celebratory rhetoric and celebration of the Valier family as an opportunity to reaffirm the greatness of Venice that instead has pride of place in monument as it was executed by Tirali.

2. The Venetian Republican Ethos and Celebratory Rhetoric in Andrea Tirali's Mausoleum for the Valier Family

Tirali's mausoleum for the Valier family presents a triumphal arch structure which is surmounted by an attic and supported by tall pedestals displaying bas-reliefs and allegorical figures (Fig. 155). Above the two portals, a marmoreal base in the guise of an elongated sarcophagus exhibits putti holding inscribed drapes of black marble.³⁹

³⁸ Cf. documentation analysed by Favilla and Rugolo (2006-07), p. 152.

³⁹ The drapes display the funerary epitaphs in memory of Silvestro, Bertuccio and Elisabetta. From left, these read as follows: 'SILVESTER VALERIUS | BERTUCII FILIUS | PRINCIPATUM | AEMULATIONE PATRIS MERUIT | MAGNIFICENTIA ORNAVIT | SYRMIENSI PACE MUNIVIT | OBIIT ANNO MDCC'; 'BERTUCIUS VALERIUS DUX | PRUDENTIA ET FACUNDIA | MAGNUS | HELLESPONTIACA VICTORIA | MAIOR | PRINCIPE FILIO | MAXIMUS | OBYT ANNO MDCLVIII'; 'ELISABETH QUIRINA | SILVESTRI CONIUX | ROMANA VIRTUTE | VENETA PIETATE | ED DUCALI CORONA INSIGNIS | OBIIT MDCCVIII'.

On the top of the base are the standing figures of Silvestro, Bertuccio and Elisabetta. The statues are set against a sumptuous drape of yellow marble sustained by four putti winding up a cord around it. On the sides of the drape, pairs of Corinthian columns and pilasters support the entablature. On the pedestal on the left, bas-reliefs represent the personifications of *Peace*, *Love for the Homeland* and *Zeal* (Fig. 156),⁴⁰ while on the right are the personifications of *Constancy*, *Charity* and *Humility* (Fig. 157).⁴¹ On the pedestal between the two portals, a bas-relief represents an allegory of the *Battle of the Dardanelles* (Fig. 158), while on the top a female figure wearing a cuirass is crowning a male figure representing the personification of *Merit* (Fig. 159).⁴² On the pedestal on the left is the personification of *Wisdom* bearing a caduceus and a book (Fig. 160), while on the right the female figure with cornucopias represents *Abundance* (Fig. 161).⁴³ In the uppermost register, above the entablature, recumbent female figures hold the coats of arms of the Valier family which is crowned by a *cornocopia*. At the centre, an oculus framed by a border of white marble and laurel leaves

⁴⁰ As clarified by De Vincenti (2011), p. 159.

⁴¹ For these personifications, see De Vincenti (2011), p. 159. From the nineteenth century onwards, scholars have questioned the iconography of the three female figures on the bas-relief on the right. To my knowledge, the earliest description of these figures was provided by Giambattista Soravia, who interpreted them as the personifications of *Constancy*, *Charity* and *Meekness*. The female figure holding a lamb to personify Meekness has also been interpreted as a personification of *Humility*, an iconographical reading proposed by Francesco Caffi in the nineteenth century and then accepted by later scholarship. Cesare Ripa mentions a lamb when he describes the personification of Humility, but not in that of Meekness. See Soravia (1822), p. 39; Francesco Caffi, 'Sul monumento del doge Valiero erettosi nel vestibolo che fiancheggia la scala grande dell'accademia de' concordi in Rovigo', in *Il vaglio* 28 (1843), p. 219; Ripa (2012), p. 262.

⁴² De Vincenti (2011), p. 156.

⁴³ The interpretation of these figures as the personifications of *Wisdom* and *Abundance* derives from Cesare Ripa and has been accepted by previous scholarship on the Valier mausoleum. Recently, De Vincenti has interpreted these statues as the personifications of *Public Happiness* and *Liberality*. It is true that some of the attributes of these figures, such as the caduceus or the two cornucopias, are represented in the monument. However, in the absence of an iconographical programme describing the allegorical personifications of the monument it is difficult to achieve a correct interpretation. De Vincenti also admitted that different levels of significance coexist in these figures. See De Vincenti (2011), p. 158.

encircles two angels holding the initials of the Latin phrase 'Deo Optimo Maximo'.

The first important feature of the Valier mausoleum is the structure recalling a Roman triumphal arch which confers a touch of classicism to the monument and renders its architectural framework similar to that of early seventeenth-century ducal monuments such as those to Leonardo Loredan or Marino Grimani (Figs 2, 23).⁴⁴ The triumphal arch structure is then combined with the flamboyance conferred by the drape, a motif which was firstly developed in medieval tombs, was later updated in baroque forms by Bernini and eventually became widespread in seventeenth-century Venice through the mediation of Filippo Parodi's monument to the patriarch Gianfrancesco Morosini in San Nicolò da Tolentino (1678).⁴⁵ Especially the loose, soft folds of the drapery and the putti fluttering around it add dynamism to the otherwise static, although majestic, architectural framework. Equally important is the use of polychromy. The chromatic contrast between the candid white of the life-size standing figures of Silvestro, Bertuccio and Elisabetta and the vibrant yellow of the drape animate the monument. Moreover, the veined black stone of the columns, the white marble from Carrara and the Bardiglio of the mirror panels displaying festoons between the paired columns contribute to the creation of nuances in the texture of the marble. Remarkable are the contrasts of shadow and light in the statues and in the bas-reliefs, as well as the almost translucent, glittering effect which is created by the light reflecting on the surface of

⁴⁴ On these monuments, see Chapter One, Sections 2 and 3.

⁴⁵ For the evolution of the motif of drape in seventeenth-century Roman and Venetian tombs, see the images published in Ferrari (1916), esp. figs 32, 35, 165, 184.

the black stone.

Polychromy is one of the features of the mausoleum which can be compared to Longhena's Pesaro monument (Fig. 35). Resemblances are also evident in small details like the inscribed drapes held by putti.⁴⁶ Just as the architectural framework of the Pesaro monument interacts with the surrounding space, the architecture, sculpture and spatial surroundings of the Valier mausoleum also relate to one another. Similarly to the architectural surrounding at the Frari, in Santi Giovanni e Paolo the Gothic vaults and the massive pilasters crown or introduce the Valier monument like a sort of architectural frame (Fig. 155). Suffice it to mention the size and architectural order of the monument's columns which mirror the piers of the nave at a smaller scale (Fig. 165).⁴⁷ Moreover, the monument's imposing height, which equals that of the nave, is emphasised by the attic. Despite being curvilinear, the outline of the attic is in fact surmounted by volutes and by an ornamental acanthus leaf at the centre which perfectly dovetails with the ogee of the bay (Fig. 155). It is also worth noting that the monument's classicising structure parallels that of the San Domenico and Santissimo Nome di Dio chapels on the sides of the mausoleum. The San Domenico Chapel was reconstructed by Tirali from 1700 onwards after the structural failure of the walls devised by Gaspari which had been nearing completion by the end of the 1690s.⁴⁸ Outside, the chapel (Fig. 184) preserved the composite columns and pilasters surmounted by an attic which were

⁴⁶ On Baroque epigraphy, see Chapter Two, Section 4, esp. pp. 108-10.

⁴⁷ The plinth of the columns is rectangular, whereas that of the piers is octagonal.

⁴⁸ Favilla and Rugolo (2006-07), p. 152. By the erection of the Valier monument, San Domenico chapel had certainly been completed, although the execution of smaller decorations protracted until 1750s. See Bisson (2013), p. 427.

designed by Gaspari, while the interior conformed to that of the chapel of the Santissimo Nome di Dio. Overall, the two chapels have many details in common with the Valier monument. Although smaller in scale, they also include columns and pilasters supported by rectangular pedestals, or dentils on the entablature and in the pediment. In this way, Tirali established continuity between the Valier monument and the main architectural features visible in the third and fifth bays of the church, thereby playing a major role in the basilica's late seventeenth-century development.

The iconographical programme of the Valier monument pivots around the theme of good government as a result of the virtues of Bertuccio, Silvestro and Elisabetta. Many allusions to Bertuccio and Silvestro as the doges who championed the qualities necessary to deal with the issues of statecraft are provided in their biographies written by the abbot Pietro Orafi and the monk Silvestro Rovere.⁴⁹ In particular, the virtues of the Valier family praised by these authors are framed within the civic ethos that was at the core of Republican ideology.⁵⁰ The personifications can therefore be conceived as visual metaphors of the qualities of Bertuccio, Silvestro and Elisabetta and allegorical representations of the fundamental values of the Venetian republican ethos. The function performed by these figures is further enhanced by the way in which these are staged in the monument. Firstly, the bas-reliefs displayed on the faces of the pedestals in the lower register (Figs 156-158) are conceived as metaphorical allusions to the achievements and the moral qualities

⁴⁹ Pietro Marcellino Orafi, *Vita del serenissimo Bertucci Valier doge di Venetia. Per Idea d'un'Ottimo Principe* (Venetia: Pinelli, 1659); Silvestro Rovere, *Vita del serenissimo principe Silvestro Valiero doge di Venetia* (Venezia: Antonio Bortoli, 1704).

⁵⁰ This is especially evident in Rovere (1704), *passim*, esp. pp. 80-81, 98, 142.

of Bertuccio, Silvestro and Elisabetta. Secondly, the significance of the bas-reliefs is summarised by the statues on the pedestals (Figs 159-161). Conceived as personifications of diverse virtues practiced by the Valier family, they sum up the moral qualities which transform the monument into a memorial to the incorruptible values of the Venetian republican ethos. Finally, the statues of the doges and that of the dogaressa are evidently positioned as the recipients of the virtues embodied by the personifications displayed below.

Especially the arrangement of the statues of Bertuccio, Silvestro and Elisabetta reinforces the visual link with the underlying figures. Displayed slightly below the centre of the monument, the standing portraits of the doges and the dogaressa are at the centreline of a triangular structure which is constructed by the pedestals at the bottom and the upper extremity of the marble drape at the top (Fig. 155). In this way, the Valier monument is structured through different architectural layers representing the members of the Valier family as the fulcrum of a refined layout. The majesty of their figures is especially enriched by their vivid likenesses and by the impeccable quality of the carving. The figures of Bertuccio and Elisabetta (Figs 163-164), the former facing the viewer and the latter gently turning her face in a three-quarters profile, yet both extending their right hand, add dynamism and seem to advance towards the beholder. Moreover, their standing portraits renovated in late-Baroque style the life-size standing statues shown in Renaissance ducal monuments.⁵¹

An iconographical analysis of the allegorical figures displayed in the Valier

⁵¹ As in those to the Doges Pietro Mocenigo in Santi Giovanni e Paolo and Nicolò Tron at the Frari. See also De Vincenti (2013), pp. 409-10.

monument will lead us to a better assessment of its relationship with Gaspari's designs and Longhena's Pesaro monument. Similarly to the monument at the Frari, in Santi Giovanni e Paolo it is still the triumph of the ducal nobility which is celebrated, although in a more cautious manner. The allegorical personifications in particular are conceived as an opportunity to indirectly celebrate Venice by exemplifying the set of virtues which were attributed to the Valier family. In contrast with Gaspari's design, where the allegorical figures enhanced the posthumous apotheosis of Bertuccio, Silvestro and Elisabetta, in Tirali's monument the allegorical figurations are regarded as visual metaphors for the achievements of the Valier family which exhort the viewer to emulate their deeds. In this way, the Valier mausoleum reinstates a celebratory mode which had already been employed in funerary monuments in memory of sixteenth-century doges, such as Leonardo Loredan or Francesco Venier, which also displayed personifications of Peace, Abundance and Charity. This notion of the function of allegorical personifications also characterises state-funded commissions such as the doges' commemorative cycle in the Doge's Palace, a pictorial cycle that was initiated at the end of the sixteenth century, where allegorical figurations visualised outstanding values of the Venetian republican ideology through the achievements of the doges.⁵²

The personifications of *Wisdom* and *Abundance* represented in the monument on top of the lateral pedestals (Figs 160-161) relate to one another and are conceived as the cause and effect of the glory of the Valier family and the state's preservation. In

⁵² Cf. Wolters (1983), pp. 92-135.

particular, *Wisdom* as a quality specific to the Valier family is singled out by Rovere in his biography of Silvestro.⁵³ By rewording a passage from the Book of Wisdom (9:4), Rovere extolled the doge as the ruler who had been aided by divine wisdom in coping with the onerous tasks of the dogate.⁵⁴ As Rovere observed, Silvestro's wisdom aimed to secure freedom, to defend Venice and to guarantee the respect of laws: in short, the cornerstones of Venice's good government.⁵⁵ The significance of the personification of *Wisdom* is complemented by the personification of *Abundance* (Fig. 161). This figure has a multifaceted significance because her attributes, a cornucopia held in one hand and another lying at her feet, also denote the personification of Liberty.⁵⁶ Whereas *Abundance* metaphorically alludes to the prosperity resulting from the good government of Bertuccio and Silvestro, Liberty is described as one of the qualities which characterise the attitude of virtuous men in a collection of panegyrics that the Paduan academy of the *Ricovrati* dedicated to Silvestro.⁵⁷

The Paduan professor Firmano Pochini further clarified the thematic content of the personification of *Abundance*. In an oration dedicated to Silvestro, Pochini alluded

⁵³ Rovere (1704), p. 98.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 98: 'Ascese dunque il Doge Valiero al Soglio Veneto, calcato prima dal di lui Padre, ascendendovi per compagna la Sapienza, che vaga d'effigere dalle di lui virtù le proprie lodi, volle seco sedere sul trono per riceverle da Regina. Palesavasi questa sapienza sì nel parlare, che nell'opere tutte del nostro Principe, a cui videsi conferita la gratia, ansiosamente dimandava a Dio Salomone. *Da mihi Domine sedium tuarum assistricem sapientiam, ut mecum sit, et mecum labore?*'

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 98: 'Fu appunto il suo vivere un laborioso operare, perché sempre attento alla preservatione della publica libertà, alla difesa della Patria [...], all'osservanza delle leggi [...]. Tutti impieghi laboriosi, a' quali, senza la coadiutrice sapienza non potea supplire la mente humana. [...] Nasce la felicità della Patria dalla Sapienza del Principe?'

⁵⁶ See De Vincenti (2011), pp. 158-59, and Ripa (2012), pp. 347-48.

⁵⁷ *Applausi de gli Accademici Ricovrati* (1680), p. 21: '[...] liberalità, magnificenza, e magnanimità, la qual sola è perfezione, et ornamento di tutte l'altre. Queste virtù eminenti, ed eccelse non han punto che far con il volgo, ma usan solo per le Sale Reali?'

to Aristotle in order to remark that material prosperity can contribute to welfare as long as those benefitting from goods and richness act with virtue and moderation.⁵⁸ In so doing, Pochini framed his acclamation of the accomplishments of Silvestro within the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Venetian debate on moral virtues.⁵⁹ The Republican ideology rewarded Venetians by bestowing glory, an outstanding political career or social affirmation.⁶⁰ Doges like Giovanni Pesaro or families like the Fini exploited republican propaganda to celebrate themselves. It is no coincidence that their monuments visually emphasise a close relationship between the statues of the deceased and the allegorical personifications of their own virtues (Figs 39, 87). In contrast, in the Valier mausoleum the allegorical personifications are conceived as attributes of the good government of Bertuccio and Silvestro, thereby inciting the observer to ponder over their virtues as ethical models which are valid for all.⁶¹

Magnificence together with benevolence and care for the Republic – these are some of the moral qualities implicit in the Valier monument which are indirectly alluded to by the Paduan intellectual Carlo De' Dottori. By citing Cornelius Tacitus and comparing Silvestro to the Roman aristocrat Publius Valerius (d. 503 BC), De' Dottori observed that Silvestro never sought glory and fame, although honour and

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 21-22: 'Così convien confessare, che i beni esteriori anch'essi abbiano la lor parte nel condur l'huomo a quella virtù perfettissima, secondo la quale operando divien felice. E non consiste la perfezione nel posseder cotai beni, ma nell'usarne virtuosamente, facendogli servir di mezzi a dimostrare la grandezza dell'animo del possessore'.

⁵⁹ On this topic, see Chapter One, Section 1.

⁶⁰ *Applausi de gli Accademici Ricovrati* (1680), p. 35: 'Il cominciare per tempo ad incaminarsi verso della Virtù è il miglior mezzo per giunger presto alla Gloria'.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 23: 'Così vuol conseguire i grandi honori il magnanimo, e meritandoli, e conoscendo di meritarli. Tali sono i principi di queglii huomini, la cui vita è destinata a servir ai posterì d'esempio, e d'ammirazione'.

esteem indeed rewarded a career which was accomplished through great achievements.⁶² The comparison between Silvestro and Publius Valerius evoked by De' Dottori is not surprising because genealogists often extolled the Valier family as a descendant of the Roman aristocracy.⁶³ By the same token, Girolamo Frigimelica, the Paduan noble and *principe* of the *Accademia dei Ricovrati*, likened Silvestro to both a king and a Roman figure.⁶⁴ Moreover, Frigimelica probably made a design for the Valier monument which was very close to that devised by Tirali.⁶⁵ Although this project remained unexecuted, it is conspicuous for an architectural framework recalling a Roman triumphal arch and military trophies including bounded slaves which resemble those lying at Caterino Cornaro's feet in his commemorative monument in Padua.⁶⁶

An encouragement to observe modesty and allusions to the virtuous behaviour of the Valier family as celebrated by its panegyrists are reiterated in the bas-reliefs on the faces of the pedestals in the lower register of the Valier mausoleum (Figs 156-158). Whereas the bas-reliefs shown on the left and on the central pedestal (Figs 156, 158) refer to Silvestro's and Bertuccio's own virtues and achievements, those on the right (Fig. 157) evoke the religiosity and the religious zeal of the dogaressa. Although these figures have been interpreted as personifications of *Constancy*, *Charity*

⁶² Ibid., p. 43: 'Segua dunque [Silvestro Valier] l'orme di questo sua gran Progenitore [Publius Valerius], ed arrivi felicemente alla Gloria per la breve e sicura strada della Moderatione [...]; poich  egli con tante azioni illustri, che onorano la sua vita, non segue la gloria, ma da quella   seguito'.

⁶³ See for example Rovere (1704), p. 3, or Freschot (1707), p. 419.

⁶⁴ *Applausi de gli Accademici Ricovrati* (1680), p. 35; Girolamo Frigimelica Roberti, *Il re' cittadino coronato con la doppia gloria del principato elettivo, e dell'ereditario* (Treviso: Gasparo Pianta, 1709), *passim*, esp. p. 18.

⁶⁵ For Frigimelica's project, see De Vincenti (2011), Fig. 8 p. 149.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 153. For the Cornaro monument, see above Chapter Three.

and *Humility*, their attributes also evoke the religious piety and further moral qualities ascribed to the dogaressa which stress her devotion.⁶⁷

Elisabetta was a member of the Querini family, which according to contemporary genealogists was descended from Roman aristocracy and was one of the noblest in Venice.⁶⁸ Biographers recalled that she was the last dogaressa to be crowned in a pompous ceremony.⁶⁹ Although there is no allusion to this event in the Valier monument, Elisabetta's sculpted portrait evokes the dignity and the splendour of her institutional role (Fig. 164). The physiognomic details, which were sculpted by Giovanni Bonazza, are extraordinarily well-executed, as are the bunch of flowers in her right hand, the brocade, the ducal crown studded with precious gems, her belt and the pendant cross on her bejewelled necklace. The attributes of the dogaressa are eventually summarised in the funerary epitaph which is carved on the drape supported by two putti. The Latin inscription commemorates Elisabetta as a Roman matron endowed with piety and nobility.⁷⁰

The fundamental values of republican ideology are further stressed in the personifications of Silvestro and Bertuccio's own virtues which are represented in the bas-reliefs on the pedestals on the lower left and between the monument's two portals (Figs 156, 158). The state's preservation was a priority of the dogate of

⁶⁷ See for instance Freschot (1707), pp. 130-31: 'La Serenissima Elisabetta Querini Dogaressa [...] mentre lasciata erede d'opulenti ricchezze, vengono con generosa Pietà impiegate in beneficio de' Poveri, e nel culto Divino. Testimonio ne sia il Mausoleo sontuoso terminato ultimamente nella gran Chiesa de' SS. Giovanni e Paolo, fatto erigere da questa Grand'Eroina [...]'; Da Mosto (2003), p. 447.

⁶⁸ See Domenico Zabarella, *Il Galba ovvero historia della Serenissima famiglia Quirina* (Padova: Mattio Cadorin, 1671).

⁶⁹ Favilla and Rugolo (2006-07), pp. 164-65.

⁷⁰ 'ELISABETH QUIRINA | SILVESTRI CONIUX | ROMANA VIRTUTE | VENETA PIETATE | ET DUCALI CORONA INSIGNIS'.

Bertuccio and Silvestro, as is suggested by the personification of *Love for the Homeland* which is shown on the surface of the base at the lower left (Fig. 156).⁷¹ The personification takes the likenesses of a male figure wearing military uniform standing on the edge of a precipice amid exhalations of fumes and flames while holding a wreath of oak in its left hand and a garland of scutch grass in the other.⁷² Its virile posture and the objects lying on the ground, an axe and a scimitar, suggest that the preservation of the state implies both the zeal required to handle administrative issues and readiness in taking up arms when necessary.⁷³

Sculpted on the sides of the personification of *Love for the Homeland*, the personifications of *Peace* and *Zeal* (Fig. 156) complete a triad of allegorical figures that the Venetian republican ethos assumed almost as dogmatic values. The personification of *Peace*, a woman with an olive tree and a torch burning arrows and a shield depicting a gorgon evokes Bertuccio's attempt to sign a truce with the Turks in 1658, as well as the peace of Karlowitz (1699) which marked the end of the conflict between Venice and the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁴ The personification of *Zeal* takes the likeness of a man dressed in long robes, holding a whip in one hand and a lamp in the other. The figure is accompanied by a winged putto carrying a heart and an hourglass as attributes of readiness, sincerity and diligence.⁷⁵ The snake trodden

⁷¹ For the state's preservation as a primary issue for Bertuccio and Silvestro, see Freschot (1707), pp. 420-21.

⁷² See De Vincenti (2011), p. 159. Cf. also Ripa (2012), p. 36.

⁷³ See Freschot (1707), pp. 420-21.

⁷⁴ Nani (1679), pp. 470, 705; Rovere (1704), pp. 134-35.

⁷⁵ As noted by Simone Guerriero, 'Girolamo Maria Rosa, Bortolo Brasi, Giovanni Marchiori e gli intagli del refettorio con una nota sul *San Girolamo* di Giovanni Bonazza', in *Santa Maria Assunta di Praglia. Storia, arte, vita di un'abbazia benedettina*, ed. Chiara Ceschi et al. (Teolo: Edizioni scritti monastici abbazia di Praglia, 2013), note 140 p. 454. See also De Vincenti (2011), p. 159.

upon by the man's left foot evokes the religious fervour which animated the dogate of both Bertuccio and Silvestro during the campaign against the infidels.⁷⁶ The determination of the doges during Venice's war against the 'Turks' confers a significance which is simultaneously ethical and religious upon the personification of *Zeal*. Besides the piety of the doges, this figure in fact recalls the zeal for religion which is constantly evoked by Paolo Paruta.⁷⁷ Supported by faith and assisted by God's providence, Venice's war against the Turks is therefore conceived as a moral obligation and a crucial part of Venetian celebratory rhetoric.⁷⁸

In the Valier monument, allusions to the conflict with the Ottomans and to Venice's civic ethos reach a peak in the sculpted group representing *Virtue Crowning Merit* (Fig. 159) and in the *Allegory of the Battle of the Dardanelles* which are depicted in the underlying bas-relief (Fig. 158). Scholars have acknowledged that the female figure wearing armour and placing leaves of holm oak on the head of the personification of *Merit* is not simply a generic personification of virtue but is in fact the *Impassable Virtue* described by Cesare Ripa.⁷⁹ The visual link between this personification and the *Allegory of the Battle of the Dardanelles* shown below suggests that *Virtue Crowning Merit* alludes to Bertuccio's achievements. In fact, the doge was extolled as the depository of the so-called "heroic virtue" by Marco Trevisan, the patrician who had defended the educative task of funerary monuments in honour of

⁷⁶ Orafi (1659), pp. 40-41; Rovere (1704), p. 130; Freschot (1707), p. 420. For the snake as a metaphor for the Turks, see De Vincenti (2011), p. 159.

⁷⁷ For the so-called zeal for religion, see above Chapter Five, Section 1, esp. p. 232.

⁷⁸ As commented by Rovere (1704), p. 129: 'Alla pietà dunque del Doge devesi gran parte di queste vittorie [Venice's victories over the Ottomans], che decretate prima nel Cielo, di là furono attratte dal di lui [Silvestro's] zelo, fede, e religione'.

⁷⁹ Ripa (2012), p. 599, cited by De Vincenti (2011), p. 156.

those Venetians who distinguished themselves for their exceptional merits.⁸⁰

The encomiastic overtones of *Virtue Crowning Merit* are counterbalanced by Marino Gropelli's bas-relief representing the *Allegory of the Battle of the Dardanelles* (Fig. 158). Pietro Orafi observed that events such as these deserved to be sculpted in monuments as immortal records of the bravery of the Venetians.⁸¹ The bas-relief represents a winged Victory crowning the lion of Saint Mark which is assaulting a dragon, a metaphor of the Turks, against the background of galleys on the strait of the Dardanelles. Although Bertuccio's efficient leadership of the battle resulted in Venice's triumph over the Ottomans, the doge is not represented in the bas-relief. Here, the coronation of the lion of Saint Mark metaphorically intimates that the victory against the Turks culminated in Venice's apotheosis as a queen. The Latin inscription at the lower left of the bas-relief, which reminds the viewer that the battle took place under the auspices of Saints John and Paul on 26 June, establishes a tight association between the event which is depicted in the bas-relief and the providential aid of the patron saints of the basilica.⁸² Therefore, the faith and civic commitment of Bertuccio result in the triumph of Venice as a republic of heroes grounded in the incorruptible principles of civic religion and social abnegation.

The Valier mausoleum completed a celebrative path which had begun with the Loredan monument over a century before. To eighteenth-century observers, the

⁸⁰ As observed by De Vincenti (2011), p. 156.

⁸¹ Orafi (1659), p. 40: 'E veramente queste vittorie meritano d'esser incise negli Obelischi, e nelle Colonne per inarborarle al Cielo, portando impresso un prodigio di tanto valore ne' vincitori, di quanta ignominia, e vergognosa fuga, e sconfitta ne' vinti'. See also De Vincenti (2011), p. 145.

⁸² The Latin inscription reads 'SUB AUSPICIO S.S. IOANNIS ET PAULI VICTORIA NAVALIS MDCLVI'.

mausoleum would have appeared not only as an opulent display of magnificence but also as a manifestation of republican pride. It is remarkable that in 1670s and 1680s poets referred to the Valier mausoleum *ante litteram* by evoking the erection of monuments in honour of the Valier family. In 1675, three decades before the elevation of the mausoleum, Cristoforo Ivanovich commended Bertuccio as the doge to whom colossal statues should be erected in order to immortalise his victory against the Turks.⁸³ In 1680, a poem by Giuseppe Carlotti described an imaginary temple of Fame celebrating the Valier family, although the rhetorical images used in this poem do not reach the same level of originality as in Ivanovich's poems.⁸⁴ An exception is a eulogy which was attached to Alessandro Dalla Via's print of the Valier monument dedicated to the dogaressa in 1708. The text exalted the monument as a memorial to the immortal glory of the Valier family and stressed that renowned sculptors emulated and even defeated nature in order to execute a work which is unequalled in terms of its naturalism, quality of marbles and rhetorical potency.⁸⁵ At around the same time, a sonnet evoked the determination with which the dogaressa pursued the erection of the monument.⁸⁶ The sonnet admired the

⁸³ Cristoforo Ivanovich, 'A Bertucci Valiero, Fatto Doge di Venezia', in *Poesie di Cristoforo Ivanovich* (1675, hereafter referred to as Ivanovich, 1675d), p. 26: '[...] dal suo valor vinta Bellona, / Vedrai del suo Tonante al crine altero / Fra riverberi d'Ostro aurea Corona. / Se tu libera torni al dolce Impero, / Marmi dal Laberinto allor sprigiona, / Sol per erger Colossi al Gran Valiero'.

⁸⁴ Giuseppe Carlotti, 'La fama', in *Applausi de gli Accademici Ricovrati* (1680), pp. 82-86.

⁸⁵ BCV, *Stampe Correr* 221-216, unnumbered folio: 'Questo gran Obelisco inalzato nella Veneta Basilica di SS. Giovanni e Paolo [...] per decoroso monumento de posterì, e per singolar oggetto d'amirazione alle genti, non potendo con la drizzata sublime Mole esser visibile al Mondo tutto, ha voluto ogni dovere, che sù incusso ne rami, e publicato per dar lustro [...] già che per se stesso contiene la scieltezza de più distinti marmi, et il travaglio de più famosi scalpelli, sudativi la natura, e l'arte con sopraffina emulatione'. This eulogy has been already published by Massimo Favilla and Ruggero Rugolo, although the authors do not refer to the metaphor of the living image which is implicit in the text. See Favilla and Rugolo (2006-07), pp. 162-64.

⁸⁶ BCV, MS Cicogna 963, *Per il sublime mausoleo Valier fatto erigere dalla serenissima Elisabetta Querini Valier*,

colossal dimensions of the monument, which is incomparable because it gives honour only to those who distinguished themselves for their extraordinary achievements.⁸⁷ Carved in marble, the glories of the Valier family are eternalised and transmitted as a memorial to future generations in Venice, to the future inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire and beyond.⁸⁸

* * *

This chapter has explored the dynamics of Venetian celebratory rhetoric through a visual analysis of the last ducal monument which was erected in memory of Venetian doges in the seventeenth-century. Gaspari's designs and the monument as it was executed by Tirali represent two alternate ways of reinterpreting the classical typology of the mausoleum. Traditionally conceived as a colossal building housing one or more tombs, the mausoleum is transformed into a monumental apparatus intended to honour the immortal glories of the Valier family. It therefore fulfils a commemorative function, and the perishable remains of Bertuccio, Silvestro and Elisabetta are accommodated in a tomb which is independent from the monument both architecturally and iconographically.

Gaspari and Tirali's versions of the Valier mausoleum sum up the salient points of the Venetian ideology of funerary monuments in the Baroque period: an

f. 184v. This sonnet has also been cited in its entirety in Favilla and Rugolo (2006-07), p. 164.

⁸⁷ Ibid., f. 184v: '[...] Chi non vantò qua più gloria sicura / memori quetò eccelsa urna reale, / urna, che molto s'erge, e poco dura'.

⁸⁸ Ibid., f. 184v: 'Ma la memoria altrui tomba immortale / sian de' Valerii all'Asia futura, / chi vorrà a gran valor gran moli uguali'.

architectural framework rich in surprising and distinctive features which impress the viewer and enhance the monument's rhetorical impact; the influence of Venetian republican ideology through the visualisation of allegorical personifications; the interrelation between architecture, sculpture and decoration; the triumphal arch form, which is revisited and adapted in Tirali's monument to house the splendid figures of Bertuccio, Silvestro and Elisabetta; and the synergy between architects and men of letters in creating artefacts which interpret the traditional *topos* of the living image with their own expressive codes.

In the aftermath of the erection of the Valier monument, classicism and celebration became the two main facets of the image Venice wanted to offer of itself. The celebratory rhetoric which was deployed in this monument became a mirror of the splendour of Venice, although it too marked the end of an era. From the beginning of the eighteenth century until the fall of the Republic in 1797, Venetian doges and other prominent patrician families gradually refrained from being commemorated in lavish monuments. As a result, Venetian imagery became progressively more stereotyped and more self-referential. Suspended in its duality, the Valier monument became a "classic" and represented the last vestige of a vanished era, which nonetheless eternally survives through the monuments which were erected in Venetian churches and their descriptions in panegyric texts.

Conclusion

This dissertation has investigated the execution and reception of seventeenth-century Venetian funerary monuments as insights into Venice's celebrative imagery. It has analysed the monuments as rhetorical devices which both celebrated Venice through the achievements of the deceased and simultaneously conveyed subtle forms of Venetian republican propaganda. Not only were these monuments intended to commemorate the deceased; they were also perceived as living presences, and their agency was supposed to ensure the involvement of the viewer and to gain his or her persuasion. Taking an interdisciplinary approach, this research has attempted to cross the boundaries between architecture, sculpture, social history and visual rhetoric. It has demonstrated the way in which funerary monuments depict a celebrative imagery that mirrors the mental attitudes, behaviours, and codes of conduct of the Venetians throughout the seventeenth century. Ultimately, the analysis of the major seventeenth-century funerary monuments to doges and patricians has contributed to the definition of a form of public imagery that goes beyond the so-called "myth of Venice" and complements it in new ways.

Chapter One delineated the premises of the Venetian politics of funerary monuments in the early seventeenth century. The first three decades of the Seicento are a moment of transition between the Renaissance and the Baroque. In this period, funerary monuments are still tied to the characteristics of the Venetian Renaissance. On the one hand, the design of these monuments was close to the architectural style

of architects such as Jacopo Sansovino and Palladio. On the other, the persistence of thematic content that had originally appeared in the Cinquecento defined the main features of monuments which were executed between c. 1600 and 1630. More specifically, Chapter One aimed to examine the iconography and rhetorical content of early seventeenth-century ducal monuments. Close analysis of the cultural context and ideological background behind the erection of these monuments clarified their function and rhetorical significance. By questioning the conventional definition of funerary monuments as structures erected to commemorate the deceased, I have contended that monuments are continuously redefined according to their function and artistic genre. It is not possible to define the ducal tombs investigated in this thesis as sepulchral monuments because they do not accommodate the body of the deceased. Rather, the patrons of these monuments, and in certain cases even the doges who were to be celebrated in them, conceived them as structures which would evoke the dignity and the sacrality of the ducal magistracy. In this way, ducal monuments became instruments of Venetian republican pride and were regarded as a way of asserting the patriotic or even nationalistic ties between the doges and the Republic.

In Chapter One I also argued that the glorification of the doge in ducal monuments should not be interpreted as the triumph of the individual, but as a way of indirectly celebrating Venice. This function is especially evident in the monuments in honour of Leonardo Loredan (Fig. 2) and Pasquale Cicogna (Fig. 32). In these monuments, the celebration of the good government of the doges in the territories

of the Venetian dominion is both the cause and the effect of the good government of Venice. On the other hand, other monuments, such as the mausoleum to Marino Grimani (Fig. 23), emphasised the quasi-absolutist celebration of the doge. The balance between ethic and celebration is thus unstable and defines the traits of Venetian ducal tombs in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Chapter Two investigated the departure from the design and thematic content of early seventeenth-century funerary monuments which occurred in the 1660s through the case study of Baldassarre Longhena's Pesaro monument (Fig. 35). A novel and impactful depiction of the ducal aristocracy emerged with the erection of this monument in 1669. The originality and significance of the Pesaro monument is articulated on different levels. Firstly, its design and iconography renewed conventional architectural and sculptural elements such as the triumphal arch, the telamones and allegorical personifications. Secondly, this monument became a vehicle for an aristocratic message that partially inspired the self-celebration of the Venetian patriciate as it took shape in late seventeenth-century funerary monuments. Thirdly, as is not the case with early seventeenth-century ducal tombs, the ideological background that lies behind the Pesaro monument no longer relies on the republican ethos, but rather, instead, on a dynastic and individual drive of self-celebration. The emphasis on the doge's enthroned effigy and its relation with the other sculptures is such that the Pesaro monument magnifies the doge rather than Venice, whose personification is in fact excluded from the composition both directly and metaphorically.

Especially important in my interpretation of the Pesaro monument is the revivification of the classical *topos* of the living image and the way in which this *topos* influenced the reception of the monument. A comparative analysis of the Pesaro monument and an ekphrastic poem by Giovanni Prati shed light on the way in which the monument might have been interpreted by seventeenth-century observers. More to the point, my analysis sought to demonstrate that Prati's poem is not only a descriptive and celebrative text. As a matter of fact, the poem evoked a number of notions and *topoi* that I have analysed in relation to the work of Emanuele Tesauro, the humanist who devised the iconographical programme of the Pesaro monument, and Cristoforo Ivanovich, the Venetian scholar and colleague of Tesauro's who wrote an iconographic description of the monument. The contents of Tesauro's main work, the *Cannocchiale aristotelico*, shaped the conceptual background where the themes and concepts evoked by the Pesaro monument found a contextualisation. As a result, my reading of Tesauro, Prati and Ivanovich has helped to clarify the reception of the Pesaro monument and its rhetorical impact on seventeenth-century viewers.

Chapters Three and Four investigated the legacy of Longhena's Pesaro monument through an examination of the major monuments to seventeenth-century Venetian captains and patricians. In Chapter Three, the monuments to Caterino Cornaro (Fig. 65) and Antonio Barbaro (Fig. 75) provided two contrasting case studies to assess the continuity of the theme of the living image and to analyse the relationship between the function of the monuments and their artistic genre in more

detail. My analysis of the Cornaro monument is focused on the related notions of service to the state and sacrifice. The monument commemorated Caterino as a paladin who sacrificed his life to defend Venice's dominion from the Turks. As a result of the ethical significance the Venetians attributed to death on the battlefield, the Cornaro monument became a perpetual tribute in recognition of Caterino's military services to the state. Close analysis of the eminently commemorative function of this monument has allowed for a reassessment of the artistic genre to which it belongs, that is, the monuments in honour of Venetian captains and commanders. Longhena and Le Court interpreted the relationship between function and artistic genre in the Cornaro Monument in a remarkable way. On the one hand, Le Court's sculpted portrait of Caterino reinvigorated the iconographic tradition of the portrayal of Venetian captains. On the other, the slaves in the guise of telamones which are displayed in the lower register of the Cornaro monument are reminiscent of the plinth of Moors in the Pesaro monument. In my analysis of the Cornaro monument, I compared and contrasted these figures with the sculpted portrait of Caterino which is represented above them, thereby clarifying the way in which this relationship plays a pivotal role in enhancing the rhetorical message of the monument.

The façade of Santa Maria del Giglio is radically different to the Cornaro monument. Here, Antonio Barbaro exploited the Venetian republican rhetoric to aggrandise himself and his family. On the one hand, an analysis of Santa Maria del Giglio has provided a case study to reconsider the unusual – albeit typically Venetian

– custom of transforming a church façade into an honorific monument. On the other, my analysis has shown that the religious framework of the façade is a pivotal component in Barbaro's aggrandisement and in the celebration of his family. The erection of the façade as a dynastic monument was encouraged by the parish priest of Santa Maria del Giglio and some members of the Venetian clergy even likened Barbaro to a Christian soldier. In this light, my research has demonstrated that civic heroism is a major component of civic *pietas*: in this context, state, religion and self-sacrifice are considered on a par with one another.

The self-celebration and fabrication of the Venetian identity are the main themes which are investigated in Chapter Four. This chapter attempted to demonstrate that the façades of San Moisè and Santa Maria dei Derelitti exemplify the idealised perception of Venice as a sanctuary of liberty and as a refuge for any citizen. In my analysis, I argued that self-sacrifice is a major component in the conceptual framework of the Fini monument on the façade of San Moisè (Fig. 84). Members of the Fini family enriched themselves through labour and sacrifice. Their funerary monument was intended to show off their achievements within the social hierarchy in Venice. The patriciate was forced, albeit reluctantly, to permit the aggregation of disenfranchised families in order to secure its own survival in a time of war and financial breakdown of the Venetian treasury. The intricate issue of the ennoblement of non-patrician families had been offset by the rhetoric of the gift conferred by Venice to deserving citizens, regardless of their social status or origin. Therefore, my visual analysis of the Fini monument has proved the rhetorical potency of the

Venetian myth and its capacity for adaptation, even by those who did not have direct ties with the patriciate. I have thus demonstrated the extent to which architecture and sculpture fashioned the Venetian identity and the perception of the patriciate through the typology of the funerary monument.

The symbolism of architecture as a means of promoting a message of social reform has pride of place in the monument to Bartolomeo Cagnoni on the façade of Santa Maria dei Derelitti (Fig. 93). A visual analysis of this façade provided an opportunity to further investigate the role of architecture in Venetian society and its connections with myth and identity. A digression into the Mannerist theory of architecture, where the concepts of ambiguity and irony seem to be processed for the first time, shaped the cultural background behind the execution of the façade. Even if at this stage of my research I could not embark on a study of Santa Maria dei Derelitti based on the analysis of archival documents, the outcomes of this research represent the first systematic analysis of the façade in relation to an iconographic and textual documentation that has generally been overlooked by scholars of the Venetian Baroque. My scrutiny of the visual and textual sources concerning the “comic” and “paradoxical” nature of this façade has shed new light on its message as a social elevation of the lower classes with ironic undertones: a sort of metaphor for the utopian dimension of the Venetian myth and a vehicle for a message of social renewal.

A strong synergy between architecture and self-celebration characterises Antonio Gaspari’s designs for a funerary monument to Doge Francesco Morosini

which are examined in Chapter Five. In my analysis, I contend that these projects renew the typology of the ducal tomb in novel ways after the completion of the Pesaro monument in 1669. The design of these projects responds to Morosini's strong personality and his eagerness to obtain fame and success. For this reason, the proposed monuments in Santo Stefano (Figs 108-113) depict military battles and the papal insignia to evoke both Morosini's expansionist politics and a notion of ducal sovereignty which is imbued with absolutism. In a similar way, the proposed designs for the San Vidal façade (Figs 122-131) metaphorically elevate Morosini on a par with a Christian soldier. Moreover, close analysis of the unusual architectural features of these designs reveals the perception that Gaspari – or anyone who might have advised him (perhaps Teodoro Tesserì) – had of Morosini as an ambitious doge and a fearless commander. Therefore, even if at the time of writing we still have limited information on the commission of the San Vidal projects, my analysis of them has demonstrated that commemorative façades became part of the Venetian imagery and a device to reformulate Venetian identity.

Finally, Chapter Six investigated Gaspari's designs for a dynastic monument to the Valier family, as well as the actual monument which was devised by Andrea Tirali. Gaspari's designs (Figs 166-178) are conceived as an aggrandisement of Doge Bertuccio Valier on a par with a religious figure. They are intriguing because of their architecture, which enabled Gaspari to experiment with dramatic designs that were rich in unconventional features. In particular, in this chapter I contended that Gaspari found a source of inspiration in papal tombs and that he accentuated the

rhetoical significance of the allegorical personifications to enhance the glorification of Bertuccio, Silvestro and Elisabetta Valier. Similarly to the monuments to Giovanni Pesaro and Francesco Morosini, the triumph of the individual is, therefore, the major theme which is visualised in these projects through the dynastic celebration of the Valier family. Tirali's monument (Fig. 155) is in a sense antithetical to Gaspari's projects. In my analysis, I observed that the architecture and iconography of this monument strikes a balance between celebration of the self and celebration of the state. On the one hand, the glorification of the Valier family is emphasised by the architectural framework recalling a colossal triumphal arch, and by the sumptuous display of the sculpted portraits of Silvestro, Bertuccio and Elisabetta. On the other, the celebration of the Valier family is inscribed within an iconography that exalts the benefits that the intellectual, moral and religious virtues bring to the Venetian community. Consequently, the Valier Mausoleum offers an opportunity for further investigation of the themes that fashioned the politics of Venetian funerary monuments: the perception of the ruling class as an efficient governing body; the desire to transform this perception into images; the reception of Roman history; the boundaries between celebration of the self, aggrandisement and celebration of Venice; and, above all, the funerary monument as an instrument of and vehicle for identity and as a manifestation of the multiple facets of the Venetian myth.

As a whole, the six chapters of this thesis have sought both to refine our knowledge of these seventeenth-century funerary monuments and to assess their impact on Venetian celebrative imagery. Obviously, some monuments analysed in

this research deserve further scrutiny. Our knowledge of the monuments can be improved especially – although not exclusively – through archival research clarifying the different phases of their erection. For example, there is no doubt that analysis of Santa Maria dei Derelitti could be better substantiated through the rediscovery of the iconographical programme of the façade. In a similar way, the patronage of the Fini family in San Moisè can be further explored through the scrutiny of archival documents concerning the reconstruction of the church. My analysis of Gaspari's projects for Francesco Morosini would also benefit from further research on the commissioning of these projects. The fact that Morosini was not the patron of the San Vidal projects suggests that Gaspari was probably recruited by the doge's family. Moreover, how influential was the role of Teodoro Tesserì, the parish priest of San Vidal, in the erection of the new façade? Did he advise Gaspari, and if so, what information was he aware of that could have informed the design of the façade? To answer these questions it would be necessary to further investigate archival documents concerning the erection of the San Vidal façade, as well as some of Tesserì's literary works – we know that he was also a writer and a poet – which might have impacted on the thematic content which is visualised in the façade.

* * *

In conclusion, this thesis has conceived the monuments as mirrors reflecting a perception of the social structures of that period. My analysis of the intersections

between politics, religion and celebratory rhetoric that characterises these monuments has led me not only to reassess their significance, but also their function and reception as instruments for the promotion of ideas concerning Venetian society in the seventeenth-century. The adoption of an interdisciplinary approach has allowed for an investigation of the monuments in a more nuanced way, thereby embracing history of art, social history and the history of ideas. As a result, the contributions of this thesis, albeit limited, aspire to enhance our understanding of the monuments and Venetian celebrative imagery. Ultimately, my investigation of the monuments in this thesis has provided an opportunity to reconsider the constituent elements of the Venetian myth in a new light. Conceived in this way, the monuments renegotiate their significance not only as structures erected in honour of the deceased, but also as a display of the self-perception of the Venetian patriciate in the seventeenth century.

Appendix One

Two Redactions of Emanuele Tesauro's Funerary Eulogy in Memory of Doge Giovanni Pesaro

Emanuele Tesauro, *Inscriptiones, quotquot reperiri potuerunt* (Taurini: Bartholomaei Zapatae, 1666), pp. 281-84:

Prior inscriptio, ad dexteram.

IOANNEM PISAUROM, VENETIARUM DUCEM | Optimum Patriae Patrem, vides. | Qui nondum natus, | Cum Partui, aut Parienti, lethale Puerperium timeretur: | Satagente Empiricorum Turba, | Ut lucem amitteret quam nondum viderat, | Obstetricante Providentia, per Mortes ad vitam prodijt: | Matremque servavit nascendo. | Idem Patriae auguratus, cui nascebatur. | Proinde Patriae totus vivens, nullus sibi; | Florentem Iuventam, quam plerique feriatam effoeminant, | Laboriosis pro Patria Legationibus, extra Patriam fatigavit. | Primum, in Subalpina, magno tunc Europae Theatro: | Cum veterano Duce Carolo, arcanam illam molitus Machinam, | Qua Telinae Vallis invasores, foederatis armis depulsi sunt: | Impactas Venetae libertati compedes fregit. | Deinde in Gallia, | Contra Ludovicum Iustum, iniustis armis debacchante, | Inermus inter Arma, Pacator inter impacatos; | Gallicanae Quietis, | Maximo Regi gloriosae: Orbi Catholico necessariae: | Venetias rebus maxime opportuna, allaborans; | Vulgare dictum redarguit, Gallis inimicum esse Leonem. | Tum in Anglia, | Praematurum Iacobi Regis amicissimi Obitum, | Mira calliditate coelatum, mira sagacitate rimatus; | Cavit, ne antiqua Rgni Benevolentia, | Novis maleuolorum artibus refrigesceret. | Romae vero, | Cum novum Titolorum Decretum Principes omnes attonuisset; | Uni Pisauro debuit Respublica, quod maximis aequata regibus, | De Maiorum suorum consuetudine nihil deminuit. | Denique ad ardua Reip. negocia natum dixisses Oratorem; | Cum suavissima Suada,

facundis innata labris, | Legati eloquio ligatos Principes, quo Iubebat adduceret. |
Mercurius videri poterat, | Nisi Militaris Praefectura Martem ostendisset; Haud
segniore manu, quam lingua. | Nam Romanis Armis finitimas Provincias
territantibus; | Hostiles Eridani ripas, Armis et Arcibus repemnte insedit: | Ut bellica
conflagratio in Authorum finibus deflagaret, | Quam id naviter ac tempestive,
Calumnia docuit: | Quae Veri facem, et Viri famam ut extingueret, | Clariorem fecit
ventilando.

Altera inscriptio ad laevam.

Hoc vero vel invita fatetur Invidia, | Quod desperatis Cretae rebus, | Cum
turpissimam Pacem, pulcerrimi Regni iactu, | Paciscendam contenderetur: | Solus
contra innumeros, cunctanter at constanter obnixus; | voce, Calamo, publico Ferro,
proprio Argento, | Cretensem Venetis Coronam, | Et Venetam Italis Gloria,
conservavit. | Tantam igitur Virtutem. | Singulos per Honorum gradus experta
Patria; | Emeriti Senis labores, maximo renuneravit labore, Principatu. | Dignum
plane Principe Republica Principem. | Cui tanta Maiestas; | Ut Reipublicae Caput,
de Vultu nosceretur. | Tanta Comitas; | Ut Dignitatis Serenitatem, supercilij
severitas non infuscarit. | Tanta Magnificentia; | Ut Principatus Splendorem auxerit
suo, | Tanta Authoritas; | Ut pro Verbis Oracula de Throni Cortina fuderit. | Tanta
Prudentia; | Ut nihil sibi novum, nihil perplexum ratus, | Aevi sui Salomo passim
salutaretur. | Tanta denique, tamque constans Religio, | Ut RELIGIONEM atque
CONSTANTIAM | Pro Heroica sibi Tessera in Clypeis proposuerit. | Testis illa,
contra Christi Hostes hostilitas implacabilis: | Et Religiosa Ignatij Familia, quam
ignito Religionis instinctu, | Ad fovendam cum Ingeniorum eruditione Animorum
Pietatem, | Postliminio Revocavit. | Omnium tamen Operum celeberrimum fuit,
ideoque postremum, | Christianorum Principum optata, non expectata Concordia. |
Quam transmissa per Caduceatores ad utrumque Regem Suada, | Omnibus persuasit.
| Hinc acceptis Pecuniarum ab Hispano; | Et copiarum ab Gallo Rege, suppetijs: |
Frugiferae Pacis primitias, Pacifera Respublica praegustavit. | Sic, nimis heu breve,
Principatus spatium, extendit Pisaurus | Gestorum granditate. | Atque ut
Reipublicae suae, etiam post Fata, prodesset; | Florentissimam Sobolem Patriae
oppigneravit: | Ex Leonardo Fratris Filio. | Qui Opum haeres, spectator Operum,

Reipublicae Procurator, | PATRUUM AMANTISSIMUM, | Qua debuit Pietate,
vivum coluit; | Qua potuit, Redivivum restituit.

* * *

The following is the funerary eulogy displayed in the Pesaro Monument. This is the
Latin inscription originally transcribed by Da Mosto (1939), pp. 339-40:

On the left of the Pesaro monument:

IOANNEM PISAUROM, VENET. DUCEM | AUREUM INTER OPTIMOS
PRINCIPES VIDES ! QUI, PER MORTES AD VITAM PRODIENS | IN
LETALI PUERPERIO MATREM SERVAVIT NASCENDO | IDEM PATRIAE
AUGURATUS, CUI NASCEBATUR | POSTINDE PATRIAE TOTUS VIVENS
NULLUS SIBI | APUD ALLOBROGES CUM CAROLO EMANUELE |
ARCANAM ILLAM MOLITUS MACHINAM | IN TELLINAE VALLIS
INVASORES | IMPACTAS VENETAE LIBERTATI COMPEDES FREGIT |
IN GALLIA, LUDOVICO IUSTO, CLORIOSAE | ORBI CATHOLICO
NECESSARIAE VENETIS OPPORTUNAE | GALLICANAE QUIETI,
ALLABORAVIT | IN ANGLIA IACOBI REGIS OBITUM | MIRA
CALLIDATE CELATUM, MIRA SAGACITATE RIMATUS | PRISCAM
BENEVOLENTIAM FELICITER FIRMAVIT | ROMAE, INTONANTE
NOVO TITULORUM DECRETO | IOANNI PISAURO DEBUIT
RESPUBLICA | QUOD, MAXIMIS AEQUATA REGIBUS, AVITA IURA
SERVAVIT | HINC LABRIS INNATA SUADA | LEGATUS LIGATOS
ELOQUIO PRINCIPES QUO LUBEbat ADDUCTURUS | SEMEL AD
LADISLAUM POLONIAE REGEM | BIS AD FERDINANDUM AUGUSTUM
CONCILIATOR | MOX, AD MONASTERII CONVENTUM CADUCEATOR
DESIGNATUS | MERCURIUS VIDERI POTUIT NI MARTEM
OSTENDISSENT | ERIDANI RIPAE, ROMANIS EREPTAE AUT VENETIS
ASSERTAE | VEL TESTE CALUMNIA | QUAE VERI FACEM ET VIRI

FAMAM UT EXTINGUERET | CLARIOREM FECIT VENDILANDO.

On the right of the Pesaro Monument:

HOC VERO VEL NOLENS FATERE LIVOR | QUOD REGNI PULCHERIMI
IACTUM | VOCE, ARGENTI PROPRII EXEMPLO, PUBLICO FERRO |
CUNCTANTER AC CONSTANTER AVERSATUS, AVERTIT | ET
CRETENSEM VENETIS CORONAM | VENETAM ITALIS GLORIAM
CONSERVAVIT | AC, FERE ABSORPTAM OTTOMANIS, EXTORSIT |
HINC TOT LABORIS MAXIMO CUMULANS LABORE PRINCIPATU |
PROH QUANTUM PATRIAE PRINCIPEM DEDIT | NEMPE QUALEM
ORBIS OPTARET | QUI CAPUT REIP. DE VULTU NOSCERETUR | CUI,
PRO SUPERCILIO COMITAS, PRO VERBIS ORACULA | PRO HEROICA
TESSERA CONSTANTIA ATQUE RELIGIO | IN DELICIIS MUNIFICENTIA
SUPRA REGALEM | IN CONSILII SAPIENTIA QUA AEVI SUI SALOMON
AUDIIT | IN VOTIS IMPLACABILIS, IN CHRISTI HOSTES HOSTILITAS |
IN NUTU SEMPER VICTRIX AUTHORITY | QUAE, NUPER QUAM
MAIOR PRIVATO FUERIT IN PRIVATO | FOELICITER OSTENDIT
INGENIORUM ERUDITIONI, ANIMOR. PIETATI | COELITUM PLAUSUI
RESTITUTA SOCIETAS IESU | SIC, HEU NIMIS BREVE PRINCIPATUS
SPATIUM | QUOD MENSE POST ANNUM PRIMUM, SEXTO ABSOLVIT |
GESTORUM GRANDITATE PROTENDIT | ATQUE, UT ETIAM POST
FATA REIP. PRODESSET | FLORENTISS. SOBOLEM PATRIAE,
OPPIGNORAVIT | EX LEONARDO FRATIS FILIO | QUI OPUM HAERES
SECTATOR OPERUM REIP. PROCURATOR | PATRUUM AMANTISS., QUA
DEBUI PIETATE VIVUM COLUIT | QUA POTUIT REDIVIVUM PATRIAE
REDDIDIT.

Appendix Two

Giovanni Prati's Panegyric Ekphrasis of the Pesaro Monument

Information on the biography of Giovanni Prati is provided in the fifth volume of Emanuele Cicogna's *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*.¹ Prati was born in Venice in 1654 and was the son of Vittore Prati and Isabella Mugini.² He displayed his talent as a poet at a young age and was a member of various academies, most notably the academies of the *Pacifici*, *Infecondi*, *Intrecciati*, *Indisposti*, *Disuniti*, and *Dodonei*. His first work was *La musa delirante*, a collection of rhymes published in 1677.³ Among his most notable works is an epicedium composed for the Venetian erudite Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia (1646-84), the first woman in the world to receive a doctoral degree;⁴ the

¹ Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, vol. 5 (Venezia: Giuseppe Molinari, 1842), pp. 487-88. To my knowledge, the only authors who mention Prati in critical studies on Italian literature are Antonio Medin and Luigi Ferrari. See Antonio Medin, *La storia della repubblica di Venezia nella poesia* (Milan: Hoepli 1904), p. 557; Luigi Ferrari, *Onomasticon. Repertorio biobibliografico degli scrittori italiani dal 1501 al 1850* (Milan: Hoepli 1947), p. 554. The direct source of Prati's biography summarised by Cicogna is a manuscript written by the Venetian architect and painter Giampaolo Gaspari (1712-75): BCV, MS Cicogna 3525, *Catalogo della Biblioteca Veneta ossia degli Scrittori Veneziani divisa in Tomi IV. Raccolta nel corso di trenta e più anni da Giovanni Paolo Gasperi, figlio di Tommaso Domenico di Giovanni Tommaso Zavatter (fratello di Pietro, e Giacomo) Pittor, ed Architetto Veneto, nato nella Parrocchia di S. Maurizio l'anno 1712; e morto in Monaco di Baviera l'anno 1775 primo Marzo, dove fu per anni 26 al servizio di quell'Elettore*, vol. 3, pp. 254-55. This manuscript is the earliest surviving and most reliable primary source outlining the biography of Prati. The manuscript has been discovered by Massimo Favilla and Ruggero Rugolo, although they do not refer to Giovanni Prati at all. See Favilla and Rugolo (2003), p. 250. The manuscript must be a copy of the same codex which was in the library of the Paduan noble Lorenzo Antonio Da Ponte. In fact, Cicogna inserted a note at the opening of the first volume of Gaspari's manuscript (unnumbered folio) where he said that the original version of the codex was in Da Ponte's library. As Cicogna further explained, the codex then arrived in Milan, where it used to belong to Gaetano Melzi (1786-1851), the Milanese biographer and bibliophile who was a friend of Cicogna.

² Cicogna (1842), p. 488.

³ Giovanni Prati, *La musa delirante. Rime di Giovanni Prati veneto* (Venezia: Francesco Brigna, 1677).

⁴ Id., *Pompe funebri celebrate da' Signori Accademici Infecondi di Roma per la morte dell'Ill.ma signora Elena Lucrezia Cornara Piscopia Accademica detta l'Inalterabile dedicate alla ser.ma repubblica di Venezia* (Padova: Cadorin, 1686).

Vienna assediata, a lyric poem in commemoration of the Battle of Vienna (1683);⁵ and *Il genio divertito*, the compilation which includes the poem extolling the Pesaro monument.⁶ Moreover, Cicogna recalls that Prati was a chevalier of Pope Alexander VIII, to whom he dedicated a sonnet to celebrate his election.⁷ Pope Alexander VIII was a member of the aristocratic Ottoboni family, a Venetian family which gained prominence in the seventeenth century also with the cardinalate of Pietro Ottoboni (1667-1740), the pope's nephew.⁸ Among other things, Pietro Ottoboni was a renowned patron of the arts and the dedicatee of Prati's *Il genio divertito*.⁹ Prati was in contact with many intellectuals and eminent personalities of seventeenth-century Venice and beyond. Worth recalling are his friendship with the writer Antonio Lupis¹⁰ and his acquaintance with Cardinal Alderano Cybo, to whom he dedicated an ode in 1686.¹¹ Prati died in Rome in 1692.¹²

⁵ Id., *Vienna assediata dall'armi ottomane, bora gloriosamente liberata* (Roma: Michel'Ercole, 1683).

⁶ Id., *Il genio divertito. Poesie liriche di Giovanni Prati veneto [...] divise in eroiche, amorose, morali, funebri, e sacre, consecrate all'eminentissimo prencipe, il signor cardinale Pietro Ottobon legato d'Avignone* (Venezia: Andrea Poletti, 1690).

⁷ Cicogna (1842), p. 488.

⁸ On the Ottoboni family, see Antonio Menniti Ippolito, *Fortuna e sfortune di una famiglia veneziana nel Seicento. Gli Ottoboni al tempo dell'aggregazione al patriziato* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1996).

⁹ As it can be deduced from reading the text printed in the frontispiece of Prati's *Il genio divertito*. On Pietro Ottoboni, see Haskell (1963), pp. 164-66.

¹⁰ Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, vol. 6.2 (Firenze: Cellini, 1861, first published 1853), p. 812. In a letter addressed to Prati and published in *Il corriere*, Lupis praised Prati's collection of rhymes entitled *La musa delirante*. See Lupis (1680), pp. 267-68. On Lupis, see above Chapter Five, p. 251 note 104.

¹¹ Giovanni Prati, *Oda dedicata all'Eminentissimo Signor Cardinale Alderano Cybo* (Rome: Stamperia della Reverenda Camera Apostolica, 1686). Cardinal Alredano Cybo was the *protettore* of the *Accademia dei Disinvolti* in Pesaro, of which Prati was also a member. Prati's affiliation with the *Accademia dei Disinvolti* in Pesaro is recorded in a poem published in *Il genio divertito*, which is entitled 'Nell'essere io accolto all'Accademia de' Disinvolti in Pesaro, mentre so in Roma'. See Prati (1690), p. 165.

¹² Cicogna (1842), p. 488.

Giovanni Prati, 'Per il sontuoso Mausoleo del Serenissimo Giovanni Pesaro, fu Principe glorioso di Venezia. Opera del signor Giusto Decort', in id., *Il genio divertito. Poesie liriche di Giovanni Prati veneto [...] divise in eroiche, amorose, morali, funebri, e sacre, consacrate all'eminatissimo prencipe, il signor cardinale Pietro Ottobon legato d'Avignone* (Venezia: Andrea Poletti, 1690), pp. 258-60:

Qual di rupi spolate oggi rimiro
Vasta machina à gl'Astri erger le cime?
Qual di porfidi Achei stupido ammiro
Fondarsi à morto Eroe Tomba sublime?
Chi diè per far le stimulate forme
A Dedaleo scalpello inclite norme?

Sì che di Paro à sviscerar le vene
Usurpollo à Cocito Eneta gloria,
Per far, che sorga in sù l'Adriaca Atene
Al *Pisauro* Solon ferma memoria;
Qui, mentre per stupor gelato io fervo,
L'Idea contemplo, e la gran Mole osservo.

Alto e'l ricco edificio: e l'ampie basi
Ergon de' più Tifei le schiave piante,
Curvan nere cervici, e gemer quasi
Sembra al pondo immottal [sic!] arduo Gigante.
Tale al grave del Ciel peso si vide.
Sudare Atlante, et anelare Alcide.

Fermo è ogn'uno à l'incarco. E pur dirai
Moversi i marmi, e sospirare i sassi.
E'l cerchi in van, ch'attonito ne stail

S'ad inganno gentil sospendi i passi.
Che se viva non è l'alta scultura,
Non sai s'Arte ne manchi, over Natura.

Non de l'Odrisio Citaredo à i carmi,
O à l'armonie de l'Ebeno Tebano
Hebbero il moto gl'animati marmi
Tratti dal suon d'un'Erudita mano:
Che dare e senso, et anima à le pietre
Sà più un'Acciar, che melodia di Cetre.

Ma come d'ambo i lati in egual sito
Spande i vanni la Morte, e in volto eterno
Dielle spirto di bronzo il Fabro ardito,
Che volle, in onta del sepolto Averno,
Inchiodarla à una balza; e far, che priva
Libitina de' sensi, e spiri, e viva.

Apri con man gelata ampio volume,
In cui del prode Eroe le gesta eterna;
Mà pur non sia stupor, ch'Adriaco Nume
Viva ne' armi, et immortal si scerna,
Ma far (sommo stupor) del Duce Forte,
Immortale il gran Nome in man di Morte!

Ergi il guardo, e vedrai gemino Drago
Vegliar de l'urna al gran Tesoro intento;
E sì viva è lassù l'orrida immago,
Che c'infonde ne l'Alma alto Spavento;
E mentre l'aura à vaneggiar v'è in lui.
Vive ei vita non sua co i fiati altrui.

Quindi vogliendo curioso il guardo,

Veggio stringere in mano Arco di Delo
Guerrier, che teso à le vendette il dardo
Rivolto è à saettar Cinthia nel Cielo;
Vivo così, ch'à l'armi sue improvise
Strinse il fulmine Giove, indi sen rise.

Ben per Giove, Signor, t'acclama à canto
D'ossequiose Dive inclito Choro;
Te, cui mentre vivesti, il regio Manto
Fregiar di rai più, che di gemme, e d'oro.
Te, che di cento Augusti il core avesti;
E un'intero [sic!] Senato in sen chiudesti.

Ben de l'alme Virtù l'alto drapello
Curverebbe al tuo piede umili piante,
Che ben spirto gli diè saggio scarpello:
Ma di Medusa il rigido sembante,
Che nel braccio di Palla inciso stassi
Gl'arresta il piede, e lo trasforma in sassi.

Sovra Soglio Regale à vita reso
Sostien base Africana il Regio Duce,
Aggravata dal Genio, e non dal peso.
E faconda l'immagine, onde ne induce
Terror al Trace; e in lingua taciturna
Sforza ogni cuore à venerar quell'Urna.

Spira abbenchè insensata, abbenche muta
La sembianza regal vigor primiero,
E in forma tale ancora è in lei temuta
La maestà del guardo, e de l'Impero.
Tale Apollo scolpito apparve in Cinto;
E tal fu Giove in Campidoglio finto.

Copre cortina d'or, che l'aria frange,
L'Augusto volto, onde tal'or lampeggia
Fulgida l'Ombra. In sù Numidia il Gange
Serpe co' flutti; e riverente ondeggia;
E'l fulgor, che trà sassi erragli intorno,
Raddoppia i lampi, e fa maggiore il giorno.

Ma s'egguagliar si deve à i mertì vasti
L'Opra, d'uopo non sia d'Urna sì Grande,
Dove il Mondo à te apena Urna è, che basti.
In van l'eccelso Mausoleo si spande;
Che Tu sei di Te stesso unico segno,
Base, Mole, Trofeo, Tumulo, e Regno.

Appendix Three

Lorenzo Fondra's Lyric Poem in Honour of Caterino Cornaro

Lorenzo Fondra, *Poesie in morte dell'Illustrissimo, et Eccellentissimo Signor Cavalier Caterino Cornaro Proveditor general da mar, ucciso da bomba nemica nella difesa di Candia* (Venetia: Giovanni Antonio Vidali, 1669), pp. 72-80:

Ambitiosi sdegni
De le parche superbe, e qual ancora
Gloria crudel, barbaro onor vi resta?
Furo con man funesta
Spenti i lumi più chiari in su l'Aurora,
Depressi i sogli, e lacerati i regni:
Quai trionfi più degni
Ora chiedete, e quai potranno al fine
Illustrar si grand'ira, alte ruine?

Cadesti, o gran CORNARO,
E le cenere tue fastosa addita,
Né chieder sa vanto maggior la morte.
Quando l'armi ritorte
Reciser tante palme in una vita?
Con più degn'ombra alcun trofeo segnaro?
Mai tumulto più chiaro
Il Nilo, o'l Tebro, né tesoro uguale
Vantò l'augusto sen d'urna regale.

Ferro vital, ch'involi

A i roghi l'ombre, e con le punte industri
Muovi a la morte un'erudita guerra:
Che ciò, che l'empia atterra
Rischiari, avvivi, e de fugaci lustrì
Tarpi l'ali nemiche, e freni i voli:
Che su l'erette moli
Virtute eterni, impiaghi il Tempo rio,
Humani i sassi, e laceri l'oblio.

Giogo altier, che la fronte
Alzi vicina al Sol, sciegli, e ch'illese
Le cime oppona a i folgori tonanti:
In colossi giganti
Erga, de gl'anni a contrastar l'offese,
Rupi animate il lacerato Monte.
E concorrendo pronte
L'idee più grandi, et i pensier più vasti
Formino a le grand'ossa, urna, che basti.

Sudi l'Arte ne l'opra:
L'opre del ferro il ferro esprima, e i Marmi
Ne le ferite lor le Tracie piaghe:
Un mar di sangue allaghe
I campi Achei, di legni infranti, e d'armi
Barbare il dorso al falso Egeo si copra,
E vi fiammeggin sopra
Di Palma trionfale a un tronco appesi
Co' lampi eterni i bellicosi arnesi.

Di luttuosi onori
O qual pompa a le ceneri guerriere
L'Adria (d'amor pio testimonio) accende!
D'inclito duol risplende

La Pira eccelsa, e de le faci altere
Sembrano lagrimar anco gl'ardori;
Ma tra i funebri orrori
Riluce o qual Seren di gloria! O come
Fulgida è l'ombra, e luminoso il nome!

Suonano i rostri intanto,
E al nome suo da' rigidi macigni
Co' gemiti pietosi echo risponde:
L'urna di dotta fronde
Con flebile armonia spargono i Cigni,
Et il Castalio rio scorre di pianto;
Sembrano farsi a canto
Oscure l'ombre, e ne sepolcri cavi
Vinte arossir le ceneri de gl'avi.

Ma che? D'opre immortali
Momentanea mercè [ricompensa], premio fugace
Sia mesto applauso, et una tomba incisa?
Tomba, ch'al fin conquisa
Sia un'erboso trofeo del Tempo edace?
Applausi, de la Morte avanzi frali?
Monumenti vitali
Solo la Gloria a CATERINO appresti,
E le memoria sue sian i suoi gesti.

Sembrò a l'ondoso campo
D'atre procelle un'Orione armato,
Qual'or sparse di sangue il seno a Teti.
Restar gl'infidi Abeti
Scherzo de' Noti, o'l Turco fulminato
Hebbe in Porti tremanti ignobil scampo:
De la sua spada al lampo

Gelar di tema i servidi Sidoni,
Arser di scorno i più gelati Edoni.

Se da l'Ismara foce
Sciolse la Tracia, e con armati inganni
Tentò rubbar, non debellarci un regno.
Spinge veloce legno
A soccorso opportuno, e a' Traci danni
Unisce il brando intrepido, e feroce.
Sostiene colpo atroce,
Ma non perde l'ardir, se sparge il sangue,
Langue la parte offesa, il cor non langue.

Con fortunato raggio
Gl'orror di Morte, e i turbini di Marte
Fugò alla mesta Illiria Eneto Sole:
Scosse guerriera mole
Tremor ignoto, et ei sudò con l'arte
De la Natura ad emandar l'oltraggio;
Ma con divoto omaggio
Archi di gloria al suo gran Nome eretti
Lasciò l'Arte ne' marmi, amor ne' petti.

Ove contro'l tonante
Pugnan lunga stagion Marte, e Vulcano,
Resa la cuna sua tomba di Morte.
Voi del recinto forte
(Avanzi illustri di furor insano)
Mura eterne a la gloria, ancor ch'infrante,
Con tante bocche, quante
Piaghe, dite qual fu, come si vide
Contro l'Asia pugnar l'Adriaco Alcide?

O quale il fero 'Trace
Proteo guerriero, e in cento guise, e cento
Forme si cangia a replicar gl'insulti!
Ora aperti, or occulti
Muove i suo' sdegni in militar cimento,
Vile a le frodi, et a gl'assalti audace:
Con furor pertinace
Raddoppia i rischi, e miri in ogni loco
Scorrer' il sangue, et avvampar' il foco.

Porta barbaro stuolo
Atroce guerra a l'assalito Vallo
Su la punta de l'aste [sic!], e de le spade:
Grandine assidua cade
D'accesi piombi: orribile metallo
Sparge le mura lacerate al suolo:
Stende la Morte il volo
Su alati strali; inusitati, orrendi
Vomita il suol, piomban dal ciel gl'incendi.

Sveglia con esca accesa
Sospiti ardori, ascose fiamme, e intorno
Con danno ugual vola, e ricade il grave:
Tenta in oscure cave
Cieche battaglie, e'l testimon del giorno
Par che ricusi a l'esecranda impresa:
De l'aperta contesa
Fugge il nobile rischio, e aspira intanto
Di furtiva vittoria a ignobil vanto.

Ma alla difesa accinto
Con destra invitta il gran CORNAR pugnando
Fiamme alle fiamme, e ferro al ferro oppone:

Vibra in fera tenzone
Lampi col guardo, fulmini col brando,
E il Tracio ardor resta nel sangue estinto.
Cade l'Arabo vinto
Su le nostre ruine, e in rotte mura
Altri la Morte, et altri han sepoltura.

Encelado innocente
Volar fa il monte al cielo, e'l ciel difende,
La cuna al finto, e al vero Dio gl'altari.
A i laceri ripari
Argine, e fossa, ove la spada ei stende,
Forma col sangue, e con le turbe spente.
Scoppiar fa inganno ardente,
E al Turco fier, che fulminato piomba
Le mine in roghi, et apre il vallo in tomba.

Scorre la Morte rea
Con baccante furor, più vasto scempio
Non portò forse in altri tempi al mondo.
Già l'Erebo profondo
A tant'Ombre non basta, e angusta a l'empio
Stuolo rassembra la Magion Ditea.
Ma di strage plebea
Ah ch'il vanto vulgar non cura, e serba
Contro il sangue d'eroi l'ira superba.

Ecco ne l'armi involto
Spento l'Eneto eroe da fiamme atroci
Lasciar di nobil sangue il suol vermiglio;
Nel generoso ciglio
Serba di nobil sdegno orme feroci,
E splende ancor bench'ecclissato il volto:

Esce lo spirto sciolto
O da qual vasta piaga! Ah non si spande
Da men' ampia ferita alma si grande.

L'alta Nutrice intanto
I vicini trofei cangia in Martiri,
In funebre cipresso il lauro muta,
Del suo campion tributa
A l'ultimo sospir mille sospiri,
Ad un rivo di sangue un mar di pianto;
Con infelice vanto
Così altera, e dolente ella comparte
La cuna a Giove, et il feretro a Marte.

Di generoso ardore
Acceso ancor l'invitto core, ad onta
Del funesto destino, ei lascia a Creta.
Muovi barbaro Geta
Un mondo d'armi, e il fedel muro affronta,
Che intrepida non teme il tuo furore.
Bel retaggio d'amore,
Che ristori di morte i danni, o almeno
Serbi di Candia il cor di Candia al seno!

Ma già al latteo sentiero,
Ove cangiato in stella arde il gran padre,
Spiega l'alma felice aurate piume:
Di bellicoso lume
Lui lampeggia, e le Bistonie squadre
Piove influssi di morte astro guerriero:
Et al Cidonio impero
Anco agitato in martial procella,
Cinosura beata è la sua stella.

Quando virtù mai diede
Documento più illustre al mondo, come
Per la patria, e la fè muoiano i forti?
Vivendo in fra le morti
Di sangue il suolo, e di sudor le chiome
Sparse in nobile fè de la sua fede:
Et or, ch'a morte ei cede
Mostra, d'Amore in testimon più certo,
Manifeste le fiamme il petto aperto.

Di tal spoglia si gloria
Barbara morte invan; spendo da l'ira
Mortal non è de la grand'alma il zelo;
Immortale dal cielo
Pugna per l'Adria, astro di ferro, e inspira
Forza a le destre, a i cor sensi di gloria:
Di posthuma vittoria
I trofei già rimiro, e la grand'ombra
Sin ne la sfera sua la luna adombra.

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